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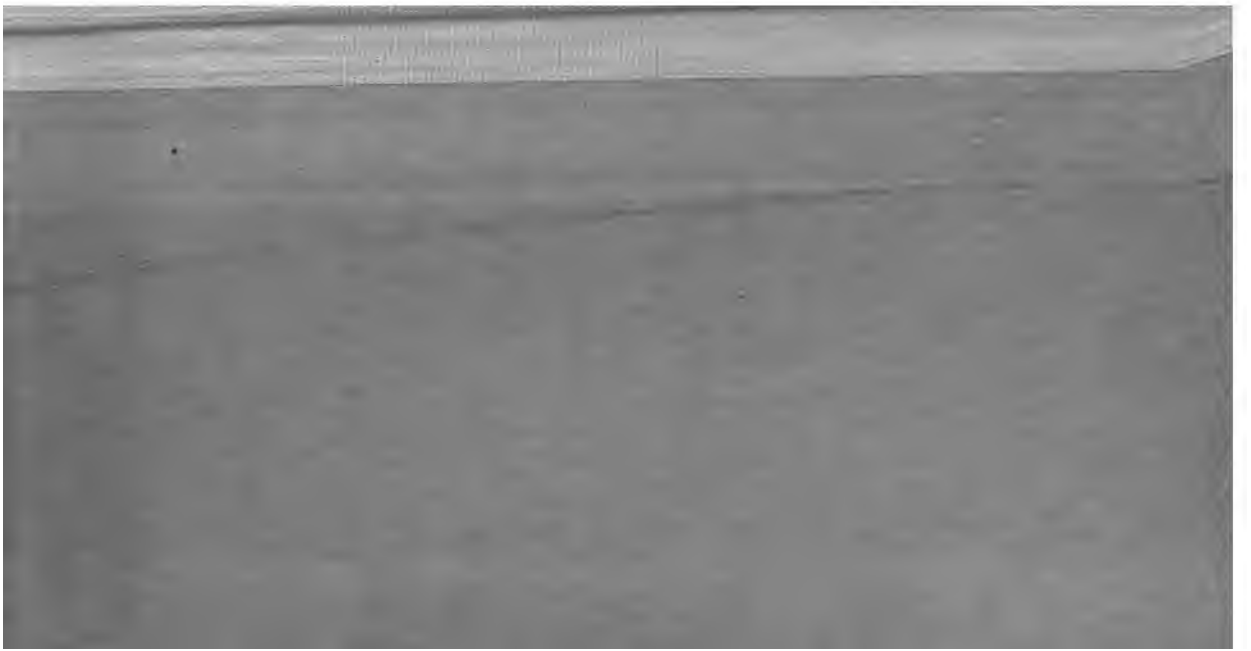

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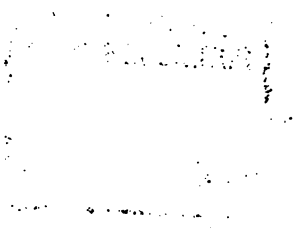

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quotiens

luat auctē cuius a aptica michi in hac
p ccis tuis Jn noīe p. a fi. a ss. Amen

mortis articulo vel verisimili

et ego auctē ip̄ius et aplica m̄ in hac
rl l mmorl fi quā incurristi Deinde ab
tuoꝝ remissionē. remittēdo tibi penas

THE VENAL
INDULGENCES AND PARDONS
OF THE
CHURCH OF ROME,
EXEMPLIFIED IN A SUMMARY OF AN INDULGENCE OF
SIXTUS IV.
FOR THE REPAIR OF A CATHEDRAL;

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE FORMS CALLED CONFESSIONALIA, APPLICABLE BOTH TO THE LIVING AND THE DEAD;

AND

OBSERVATIONS CONFIRMATORY OF THE AUTHENTICITY

OF THE

TAXÆ PŒNITENTIARIÆ.

WITH A PLATE.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH MENDHAM, M.A.

..... simpliciter dicendæ sunt indulgentiæ tantum valere, quantum prædicantur: dummodo, &c. *Summa Theologiæ* S. THOMÆ, *Suppl. Tertiæ Partis, Quæst. xxv., Art. ii., Conclusio.*

Utinam liceret introspicere sensus vestros, recessusque ipsos mentis, quibus varias volvitis, atque initis obscurissimas cogitationes: reperiremus et vos ipsos eadem sentire, quæ nos. ARNOB. *adv. Gentes, lib.* vi., § xi.

In avaritia fictis verbis de vobis negotiabuntur. BEATI PETRI *Epist. Sec.* ii., 3. *Vers. Vulg.*

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MDCCCXXXIX.

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TO THE

MOST EMINENT THE PREFECT

AND THE

MOST REVEREND THE CONSULTORS

AND OTHERS

OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF THE

INDEX IN ROME,

WHOSE INDULGENCE IS SOLICITED TO SPARE THIS

LITTLE VOLUME

FROM INSERTION AMONG THE AUTHORIZED AND PUBLISHED

PROSCRIPTIONS OF THEIR CHURCH;

OR,

SHOULD THAT HOPE PROVE TOO SANGUINE,

TO OBTAIN FOR IT

THE SAME RESCUE AS,

AFTER TWO CENTURIES OF PURGATORIAL SUFFERINGS

(DONEC EXPURGETUR)

WAS, BY PAPAL AUTHORITY,

IN THE INDEX OF EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIVE,

EXTENDED TO

GALILEO GALILEI, AND HIS SOLAR HERESY—

THIS FURTHER ATTEMPT TO CORROBORATE

"THE SPIRITUAL VENALITY OF ROME,"

BY HER OWN DOCUMENTS,

IS BENEVOLENTLY INSCRIBED BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

CORRECTIONS.

Page.	Line.	
x.	ult.	*prefix the mark* ‡‡.
xxxi.		*in last note insert* Todd *after* Townsend, *and alter* three *to* four.
12.	17.	*for* serres *read* servus.
65.	9.	*the line should be in the larger type.*
147.		*the first Note should have been placed last, and the marks of reference varied accordingly.*

there are not back and secret, possibly underground premises, where engines and machinery may exist and be at work, to produce the exhibition in the public rooms; whether there be not an apparatus for the sole and direct purpose of manufacturing articles of false and deceptive quality; and, above all, whether there are not in the apartments, not exposed to common view, a store of odious, noxious, and destructive things, vials of intoxicating draughts, and poisons of all descriptions, instruments of torture and death, illusive optic-glasses, and abun-

PREFACE.

WHEN the chapmen of Rome are displaying the wares of the great mystic manufacturer in their front shops and shew rooms, set out with every attraction which unshackled ingenuity can invent and consummate art execute; at the same time concealing, or, if questioned, denying, that they have any other articles in other rooms than those which are public, or indeed any other rooms at all—the attempt ought not to be considered as superfluous, to discover, whether all this be strictly the fact; whether there are not back and secret, possibly underground premises, where engines and machinery may exist and be at work, to produce the exhibition in the public rooms; whether there be not an apparatus for the sole and direct purpose of manufacturing articles of false and deceptive quality; and, above all, whether there are not in the apartments, not exposed to common view, a store of odious, noxious, and destructive things, vials of intoxicating draughts, and poisons of all descriptions, instruments of torture and death, illusive optic-glasses, and abun-

dance of revolting filth. If such things are, it is imperative upon those who would not fail in their highest duty to their fellow creatures, to throw open the imposture to the light of day, and not, by their own unfaithful omission, allow the simple and trustful to be deceived to their spiritual mischief or perdition. They are bound to expose and warn, as occasion may present; and plainly to tell every passenger who may be wistfully gazing at the windows, and tempted to enter the doors, of the enchanted shop, and at least glance at the seductive furniture within, which the mercantile sorceress offers at the reasonable price of his understanding and conscience, that "her house is the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death." Prov. vii., 27.

Amidst the cross-firing of different parties now existing, such a procedure is not in eminent favour. There seems to prevail at present a very extensive tenderness for falsehood and irreligion, a concern that they should not be too severely handled. Men, whatever they are, should not, by exposure, be made

Desperate, if they once are bad.

The old, honest, straightforward way, however, appears on the whole the best. And without endeavouring to fortify myself in following it by other authority, I will at once take shelter under that of the individuals, who are generally known by the appellation of the *Fathers of the Church.* These

exemplary men, as writers, are returning to high sway in popular estimation. Not only are their decided merits enthusiastically admitted and proclaimed, but a veil is indulgently thrown over what are decidedly and obviously their infirmities, and no slight ones—their best side is almost exclusively presented—they have been elevated from a station of comparatively and certainly very unjust contempt to one of distinguished honour—the *genuineness* of particular writings is shyly dealt with—scholars shrink with a sensitive aversion from such works as open the fountains of criticism on this subject.* Such conduct might be entitled to more praise if it were not vitiated by what, in compliance with modern usage, we must call Ultraism. It will, however, with all competent judges, be admitted, that the earlier Christian writers have been as unduly depressed as they are now unduly exalted. Themselves, were they to return among us, would be the first to reclaim against the modified idolatry with which they are now venerated and abused. They would direct the " wholesome advice to their indiscreet *admirers*," (I do not say " *wor-*

* In the *British Magazine* for May, 1839, pp. 511, and following, may be read a well written and seasonable letter, which proves, in the case of the *British Critic*, a Quarterly now under the sole conduct of the sect at Oxford, how naturally the *approximators* to the theology of Rome adopt the *disingenuousness* of her criticism in the interpretation of the *Fathers*, as well as all other works affecting her creed.

shippers,") not to deprive them of their *due* honour by claiming for them *extravagant*. The honour to which they are legitimately intitled is indisputably great, principally as reporters of the facts and belief of their own early age, as far as their probable information, judgment, and integrity qualified them so to be; and the advantage above them which many moderns possess is to be ascribed to the clear present which they have made of their own acquisitions. Those who qualify their admiration of the primitive writers of Christianity bestow upon them the greatest and purest honour. By such, their authority is justly, and therefore highly, appreciated.

These individuals, however estimated, felt no restraint in exposing and denouncing both falsehood and impiety, wherever they were found, in the terms properly belonging to them. The Apologists in particular, as their subject would lead them, were distinguished by this openness of dealing. They were apologists for themselves, as they had a right to be, but none for the iniquities of their enemies and persecutors. They had no soft, palliating, words and phrases for them. They exposed heathenism with the mercy which alone it deserved, that is none. Without ceremony they tore away all its specious disguises, and left the defendants to call for candour and liberality where they were due. And they never desisted from stigmatizing vice and

idolatry in terms which would throw modern delicacy into convulsions. They never feared the imputation of ultraism, nor were they sharp enough to understand, that much danger was to be apprehended to public morals by most intelligibly and effectually attacking that which was the grossest violation of them. That *grave* people might make the pretence they were perhaps fully aware, and that *perverse* people might make the abuse they were probably fully aware also. But this did not deter them from the straightforward performance of an obvious and necessary duty.

I will give the names of the individuals so honourably distinguishing themselves, and the places in which they have so done in notes. The persons are—Justin the Martyr,* Athenagoras,† Theophilus,‡ Clement the Alexandrine,§ Tertullian,‖ Minutius Felix,** Arnobius,†† Lactantius.‡‡

* *Apol.* I., § 33, 36; pp. 51, et seqq. 55, et seqq. Ed. Ashton, Cant. 1768.

† *Leg. pro Christ.* § xvii., pp. 74, seqq. § end of xxvi. to the end, pp. 123, seqq. Ed. Dechair, Oxon. 1706.

‡ *Ad Autol.* iii., 4—6, in Justin ed. Venet. 1747, pp. 409, 10.

§ *Cohort*, § ii., ed. Potter, pp. 10—36, where the indignant writer exposes the Mysteries of the heathen, as Mr. M'Ghee does the abominations of the confessional of the Romish priesthood.

‖ *Apol.* § 9, 15, 35, 39, towards the end.

** *Octav.* end of § 28 to 31, ed. Ernesti pp. 182—199.

†† *Adv. Gentes*, iii., 10—12, where the vitiosity of the heathen deities is denounced; iv., 26, 7; v., 5—7; 18—31; 32 proceeds in exposing the allegoric apology of heathenism to the end of the book, In book vi., 17—19, is an exact counterpart to the

In the *Summaria* which forms a prominent, if not the principal feature in the present work, the reader must not forget that it is a *specimen*, not a single isolated instance. It represents a class of documents in the spiritual diplomacy of Rome, dis-

apology which the Romanists use in defence of their image worship. The heathen has taught them, that the worship passes through the image to the god, that is, the saint. It is well known that the Papal Jubilees originated with Boniface VIII., and were a plain adaptation to the secular games. But it became profitable both to abridge the time of recurrence, and to give them a more sacred reference; and therefore the period was reduced to fifty years, and the Jewish Jubilee was represented as the prototype. I notice this the more anxiously, because it has afforded the ground and example to transfer the origin of papal observances from heathen to Jewish. This is the artifice adopted by Challoner in his pretended *answer* to Middleton's celebrated *Letter from Rome* in the *Preface* to his *Catholic Christian Instructed*. True, popery had incorporated in her ritual the great mass of the Mosaic; but the heathen material predominates throughout. Let any one read the valuable and scarce work of the Rev. A. Meagher, Doctor of the Sarbonne, the *Popish Mass celebrated by Heathen Priests*, &c., and he will see the fact as clear as sunlight can make it. This remark will serve as a key to the whole system of popish defence of this character. Judaism indeed comes in opportunely as *part* of the conformity, but not the *main*, nor the *true* part, as derivation is concerned. Even Polydore Vergil, G. du Choul, and others have seen and recorded the pagan parentage. The progressive encroachments of popery will probably produce the republication of Meagher, Sall, and other most estimable deserters of the Church of Rome. They were calumniated by Rome as usual: but the last was vindicated by the honesty of an eminent Franciscan, Peter Walsh, whose reputation has nothing to fear, either from Dr. Milner or the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Inst. v., 9, pp. 381—5. Tom. I. Du Fresnoy, Paris, 1748.

tinguished by all *that* acute, yet sottish sophistry, *that* less studied than necessary ambiguity and confusion, which is the very life of the pretensions and practices of that empirical church. All the general, that is, topical or national, Indulgences, run in the same phraseology. There is enough plain to secure the main object, and enough obscure to make dependence and application necessary. The right of interpretation is the great secret of Rome in all her transactions. Even her last, ultimately defining council, required a *Congregation* to interpret her politic obscurity.

In Weever's *Funeral Monuments** occurs a document in English very analogous to that relative to the cathedral of Saintes, and importantly illustrative of it. It is a bull of Pope Alexander VI., not for the erection or repair of a church, but professedly for the support of a war against the Turk. Yet in substance and form it exhibits a very minute accordance with the Indulgence referred to. That the reigning pope in the year 1500, which should be a Jubilee, had prepared for such a celebration, is beyond doubt. Bulls, which, although *suppressed* where they ought legitimately to be found,† are still found in contemporary or antient collections;‡ the

* First ed. 1631, pp. 165—9.

† The modern Bullaria, at least Cherubini's.

‡ See particularly *Collectio Divers Constitutt. a Greg. VII. ad Greg. XIII.* Romæ 1579, Cum. Privilegio, pp. 77—9, two

records of history;* and the honesty of some collectors,†—all, with one voice, proclaim, that the simoniac Alexander VI. knew that it was a Jubilee year, and made the natural advantage of it. This *generally*. But we have a monument of the concern of this pontiff for England *in particular*. Our own historians have attested the fact. Polidore Vergil, and Hall and Grafton,‡ who copy him, under

bulls. Fabricius in his *Bibl. Gr.* ed. ult. xii. 180, mentions this edition; but, as in his *Bibl. Med. et Inf.*, with the wrong date, 1589. Specia, in the *Bullar. Rom. Continuatio*, Romæ 1835, i., Pref. xi., likewise notices it, but as 4to. instead of folio.

* Raynaldus under A.D. 1500.

† Amort *de Indulg.*, who has five or more *Constitutions* on the subject, pp. 79—86.

‡ The account of these harmonious historians is curious, and I give it in the English of Hall for the benefit of English readers. "Soon after when this plague was slaked, the king returned again to England, about the end of June, and being come into England, soon after there came to him one Gasper Pous, a Spaniard (both for learning and good behaviour very excellent), sent from Alexander, bishop of Rome, which should shew the Englishmen the right way to heaven. Therefore that year was called the year of Jubilee, which was the year of our Lord a thousand five hundred. And to the intent that the people of far countries might be eased of their labour and travel in coming thither, the charitable father sent his legates into every country to distribute the heavenly grace (as he called it) to all christian people, which either letted by war, enemies, infirmity, weakness, or tediousness of the long journey, were not able to perform their journey to the holy city of Rome. But this benevolent liberality was not frank and freely given: for the holy bishop Alexander, with helping and looking to the health of men's souls, thought somewhat to do for his own private commodity and singular wealth, and therefore he limited and set a certain price of this his grace and

the year 1500, have given the same pretty accurate outline of the proceeding of the pope in his disinterested contrivance to extract substantial riches from England in consideration of the spiritual treasures of his Indulgences. The pretence—and it was seen through as a pretence on all hands—of a war with the Turk, answered the purpose of supplying the pope and his infamous son with the means of prosecuting their petty wars with the Italian states. All the historians mentioned above, and their followers, Lord Bacon in his History of Henry VII.,

pardon: and to the end that the king should not hinder nor let his purpose, he offered part of this his gain unto the king. And that the people might the sooner minish their purses, and enrich his chests, he promised that he would in the beginning of the year make war in all haste against the great Turk. By this means and policy this Alexander got, accumulated, and heaped up a great sum of money, and yet no battle begun against the Turk, which in the mean season had taken, conquered, and destroyed many regions, cities, and towns belonging to Christian men: but God amend all that is amiss." Last edition, p. 492. There was no use in retaining the old orthography. The reader may look at Gordon's *Life of Alexander VI.*, pp. 229—231. I have an Italian life of this profligate pontiff in MS., differing, as it appears, in some respects, from that in the possession of Gordon, in which the anonymous author, towards the end, after speaking of the publication of the Jubilee, as the best and most notable act of his pontificate, adds, il quale celebrò con qualche divotione, dando fuori molte Indulgenze, et assolvere molti popoli; e perdonò peccati piu nefandi senza rigore, rimettendo con assoluta auttorita li peccati à tutti senza distintione. Fece affigere molte notificationi in diverse volte, nelle quali diceva perdonare anche à quelli che per qualsivoglia impedimento non potevano venire in Roma à prendere il santo Giubileo.

and the rest, in conformity with the document which will be extracted from, agree in naming Gaspar Pons, or Powe, of whom we shall have more to say, as the papal Commissary. Weever, in a marginal note, where he produces the bull, writes, "Copied out of an old Roll, now in the custody of *Sir Symon D'Ewes*, knight." Henry Care, who proved a "nimble convert," like Dryden, under James II., in his *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, in the fifth volume, Number 26, and of the date of 1683, speaks of the Rates of the English Jubilee of 1500 "as we find them specified in an old ROLL not long since to be seen in the custody of that learned antiquary, *Sir Symon D'Ewes*."* Now the large collection of Manuscripts belonging to this eminent scholar came, we are told, into the possession of Harley, Earl of Oxford: and we might naturally expect to find them in that vast repository, the British Museum, which contains the MS. stores of the just mentioned nobleman.† And it is the fact, that

* P. 202. See likewise in the 2d edition, under the title of *The History of Popery*. Vol. ii., p. 410.

‡ The *Biog. Brit.* says that a *part* of Sir Simon's MSS. were to be found in the Library of the College of Arms. Such a document, however, as the above, was not likely to be selected for such an institution. In Bernard's *Cat. Lib. MSS. Angliæ, &c.* II., pp. 385—8, is a Catalogue of the MSS. of the grandson of the same name, of Stow Langtoft in Suffolk: but nothing of the sort appears there. There was something rather promising in the Harleian Catalogue, vol. I., p. 61, Cod. 172, art. 15. De indulgentiarum annis ab Alexandro Papa VI. concessis. 89 et 92.—

the first part of the Catalogue of the Harleian MSS. is largely occupied by the MSS. of Sir Simon D'Ewes. But, however rich in similar documents, the roll in question does not make its appearance there. In the Catalogue, however, of the Cottonian Collection, which likewise abounds in pontifical treasures, there is an article which excited some curiosity and hope. It appears under Cleopatra E. III. Art. 74, and is as follows:—"The Articles of the Pope's Bull for a holy Jubilee to be distributed in England by William Butts, student at Cambridge; also of

16. Salutationes sive Ejaculationes ad B.V. Mariam. ibid.—17. Pater Noster; Ave Maria; et Credo. 92. b. But a friend informs me, that nothing of the object in particular request there appears. What *does* appear, however, is of a character so congenial with the ordinary religious productions of Rome, that the reader will not probably be displeased with a fresh sample, as transcribed by the same pen.

"Fol. 89. a. Alexander sextus concessit decem milia annorum pro mortalibus, et viginti pro venialibus—dicendo hanc orationem trina vice coram imagine Sce Annae, ac beatae virginis et filii ejus."

The prayer is one atributed to St. Antony of Padua, beginning—

Si queris miracula—mors, error, calamitas,
Demon, lepra fugiunt; egri surgunt sani:"

&c. &c.

In fol. 92 is a similar notice:—"Julius Papa secundus pro testamento spirituali dedit omnibus legentibus orationes sequentes de mane et vespere 80 milia annos indulgenciarum."

The devotions thus bountifully rewarded are three brief ejaculations to the Virgin, beginning—"Gloriosissima regina misericordie saluto—1. templum uteri.—2. virgineum nomen.—3. animam tuam."

the bull of dispensation respecting simony, usury, &c. 157. b." The page of the next article is marked 161; the first therefore must occupy four or five pages. This, it is evident, could not be the Roll, (of parchment, of course,) formerly the property of Sir S. D'Ewes. But it was with no little gratification I learned from a friend, who examined the volume, and upon whom I place unbounded reliance, that this document, which is on paper, and the one presented in the pages of Weever, are evidently transcripts from the same original, and agree in every essential point. The only variation is an addition in the Cotton MS., in two or three of the *taxatio* clauses, where, " and children," or " wife and children," are added in the place of an " &c." in Weever. It is plain, therefore, if there could otherwise be any doubt upon the subject, that the Cottonian transcript was one of a variety of such documents which would naturally be required on the occasion. This appears indeed from the new name, William Butts, who was plainly a Sub-Commissary,* and doubtless was well satisfied for his services. These Jubilee bulls were very searching things: they allowed no portion of the country in which they were published to escape.† Of the commis-

* Tetzel was a Sub-Commissary. *Vita* a G. Hechtio, p. 13; though afterwards promoted for his past *merits*.

† How clean a Jubilean excise swept a land is graphically described by one who was no enemy to such doings, the author of

sary, I wish I could give some account. Weever calls him "a Spaniard,* a man of excellent learning and most civil behaviour;" and in the bull he is designated as "the ryght reverent Fader in God Gasper Powe Prothonotarie, and Doctor of Divinite," &c. In one of the Jubilee bulls of Alexander contained in the *Collectio Diversarum Constitutionum*, &c.† among the *Penitentiaries* appointed for the occasion, (for a good deal of absolution was then needed,) occurs the individual in request in these words: Gaspar Peu, Archidiaconus major ecclesiæ Urgellen. etiam in artibus et theologia magister. We do not get much more here than a new name; and with that, and the recognition of the person, we must be content.

It is time now to come to the document itself,

the *Magnum Chronicon Belgicum*, in the IIId vol. of Struvius's *Collection of German Writers*, Ratisbon, 1726, pp. 363, 4. He is describing the Jubilee of 1400, and details the Indulgences, the fullest, published in the different specified cities and even villages of Germany, but always with the clause, *porrigentibus manus adjutrices*, which occasioned some scandal. At pp. 413, 4, he describes the Jubilee of 1450, nearer his own time, published by Cardinal Nicolas de Cusa, with great pomp and formality. With singular decorum the legate disclaimed indulgences *a pœna et a culpa*, but granted *remission of all sins*; and condescended to state a valuation of different sins, and the penances to be remitted, ending with their important efficacy—quibus purgata anima post vitam hanc mortalem possit sine maculis vultui divinæ gloriæ in cœlo presentari.

* He does not appear in Antonio's *Bibliotheca*.

† Ed. 1579.

although there is an awful yet revolting interest in the peculiarities of papal iniquity which will justify our having been detained upon them so long.

In briefly representing the contents of the Jubilee document as far as corresponding with that which forms a principal subject of the present work, it will not be necessary to give the antiquated orthography of the original, which may be consulted by the curious without much difficulty.

The roll begins—*

The articles of the Bull of the holy Jubilee of full remission and great joy granted to the realm of England, Wales, Ireland, Guernsey, and Jersey, and other places, &c. Our most holy Father the pope, God's vicar in earth, &c. daily studieth the health and welfare of your souls; and therefore, to those who were desirous of his remission and grace, and were prevented from visiting the court of Rome by long distance and other impediments, or have changed their purpose to a desire to obtain and purchase the great grace, as willing to withstand the infinite malice of the Turks, he hath statuted, ordained, and granted, that all, sovereign and subjects of England, who shall in due time, truly confessed and contrite, visit certain churches, and " put into the chest for the intent ordained, such sum or quan-

* It is proper to observe that the phraseology, as well as sense, of the original, are carefully observed, where abridged, and where I was not warranted to use inverted commas as in a strict quotation.

tity of money, gold or silver, as is limited and taxed," "shall have the same Indulgence, Pardon, and Grace, with remission of all their sins, which they should have had, if they had gone personally to Rome," &c. Then follows a full power to the pope's commissary and his deputies to chuse confessors and penitentiaries, &c. to absolve from all manner of crimes, whatsoever they be, though the absolution thereof be reserved to the court of Rome. "And the said confessors shall have power to give and grant to all the said persons, confessed and contrite, clean and full remission, which is called *A pena et culpa.*" The said Confessors shall have power to dispense and change all manner of vows. Those who cannot visit the churches prescribed may compound effectually with the commissary or his deputies. The said commissary and his deputies have full power to interpretate all such doubts as may be found; and their interpretation shall effectually be taken and stand.* All hinderers are subject to the pain of cursing; and all preachers, under the same penalty, are charged to publish and declare the said indulgence. All other pardons are suspended for the time.

Then follows a graduated taxation according to the wealth of the individual, in *sixteen separate Items*—an ecclesiastical, or rather popish, property tax for the occasion.

* The reader should note this.

The third and last division is, " dispensation with simony, usury, and of goods wrongfully kept; reserved to the commissary only." Simony is dispensed with to the guilty, " alway provided, that the said persons make a composition hereof with the said commissary, and such money as they compound for, effectually to pay to the said commissary, to be spent in this holy use for the relief and defence of our faith. Also the said commissary hath power to compound, absolve, and dispense with all those that occupy evil-begotten goods; all usurers, and all such that wrongfully and unlawfully occupieth or withholdeth other men's goods by finding; or goods hid, not knowing, or doubting who be the owners," &c. " First making composition for the same with the said commissary, of some certain sum of money," &c.

The family likeness in this document can hardly be unseen or misunderstood.

Since the portion of the present work had gone through the press which refers to the individual who holds so conspicuous a place in it, Raymond Perault, I have met with a notice in a book not very obvious, which, as it speaks much to the credit of that commissary and cardinal, I am unwilling to withhold. Raymond was invested with the purple by Alexander VI., a pontiff, as callous to humanity, as to morality and religion. And yet, to his face, and in the presence of two cardinals, he had

the courage to accuse his holiness of simony, carnal sin, and mutual intelligence with the Turk, charging the high pontiff as a hypocrite and deceiver. It is true he acknowledged his offence, was reconciled to his master, and received his benediction.*

* 22. Janvier le Cardinal de Gurce reconcilié avec le pape en receut la benediction, et culpam suam pontifici agnovit; sed in præsentia Cardinalium de Ursinis, et sancti Georgii crimina Pontifici objecit: Simoniam, peccatum carnis, Informationem Magno Turco missam et mutuam intelligentiam; asserens ipsum Pontificem Magnum simulatorem et verum deceptorem esse, si sui verum mihi retulerunt. Burchard certainly declines being himself responsible for the truth of the story. *Specimen Historiæ Arcanæ, sive Anecdotæ de Vita Alex. VI. Papæ; seu excerpta ex Diario J. Burchardi.* Hanov. 1696, p. 33. The Editor was the celebrated Leibnitz. There are more notices than one of this cardinal in the same work, one with a curious disguise of name—Frater Anthonius Rombald. Cardinal. Gurgens. Pp. 11, 12. The patchwork of languages in this important but terrific *Specimen* is a peculiarity strongly corroborative of its unstudied simplicity. In fact, as the Master of ceremonies would have singular advantages in observing the more secret actions of his master, there is every reason to believe that he strictly adhered to truth, and so little intended to satirize his subject, that familiarity seems in some cases to have deadened his abhorrence, and almost perception, of atrocious guilt. In Leibnitz's excerpts, which seem to have been obtained by means which he could not explain, there is nothing respecting the Jubilee. But this omission is well repaired by Bonanni in his *Numism. Pont. Rom.* on the Medal struck on the occasion, i., pp. 124, et seqq., where he quotes largely from the *Diary* on this very subject. Alexander was the first who opened *the sacred door* of St. Peter's; and Burchard relates that he sought for one, in deference to public opinion, where it was not to be found, but persisted, because he would not disturb the devotion of that opinion. He had the same difficulty in the Church of St. Paul in the Via Ostia, where nobody could

There is a species of papal Indulgence of which I have taken no notice. It is that class of petty indulgences which appear in the Romish Annuals and other small works from the same forge. These, and some similar articles, may be called the pedlery of popery; and may appear as harmless as they are puerile and unmeaning. They ought not however to be considered in so innocent a light for two reasons. The first is, because they operate, and may be used, as a feint to draw away the attention of

find the expected door; and therefore he broke open three in the front of the church, which had been closed to exclude the bad air. But, observes the master of ceremonies, concerning these things little doubt ought to be felt, for faith alone saves the rustic—*de his tamen parum est mirandum, quia sola fides salvat rusticum.* Had this been written at the time of the reformation it might be taken for a sneer at its fundamental doctrine. But the writer seems to have thought of nothing but sole belief in the church, which was then the orthodox opinion. He little imagined, that the words expressed that doctrine which St. Paul in his epistle to his own church was most earnest in establishing and defending. Burchard was a man of education, and was trusted to compose the prayer used at the Jubilee in Rome, in which occurs the sentence *ut in eo,* [*Jubilæo,*] *veniâ plenæ indulgentiæ, et remissionis omnium delictorum obtentâ, cum dies advocationis advenerit,* &c. If I wished to convince an educated man of the absolute mythology and falsehood of popery, I would content myself with prescribing the perusal, for two or three hours a day during a couple of weeks, of the official documents of the Roman Church, particularly the bulls of her heads; although I will not deny, that *Extracts from the Bullarium* might be so constructed as not only to secure her against condemnation, but even to recommend her. The same process would secure the same benefit to the *Koran* or the *Shaster.*

the protestant public from major and more important articles. The second is, because they afford nutriment in a number of cases, and where they are particularly appropriate and effective, to the general superstition of the Roman body: they serve to satisfy and renew the craving and morbid appetite essential to popery, which might otherwise chance to stumble upon wholesome food, and acquire a new and beneficial direction. In what light these trifles are regarded by the very church which uses them for her own purposes, may be seen in the instance of such Romanists as have been emancipated in any degree from the illusion of their faith, and have spoken of them with honesty. One of this number is the very learned, and certainly not orthodox, Dr. Alexander Geddes. On the subject, however, on which his testimony will be produced, he is a perfectly competent, and, I believe, honest witness. Something like a censure had been pronounced by the Vicarial bench of his church against his writings, and in consequence he addressed a *Letter to* the number, *Dr. Douglass, Bp. of Cen* A. of the London District; in the 10 which, speaking of "scandalous propo proceeds to the subject of indulgenc writes—"I have heard many other *sca* ositions relative to indulgences.—I ha culous privileges annexed to *chapl s, medals*, &c.; for which there is

no solid foundation, either in scripture or apostolical tradition.—I have seen poor illiterate women teased almost out of their senses about those holy toys, as often as they had occasion to change a *Director*, every one contending that *his spell* was the most efficacious. 'You must count your beads,' said one;—'You must wear a scapular,' said another;—'You must hang this blessed medal about your neck,' said a third: thus, while each preached up the wondrous virtues of his own favourite *bauble*, and depreciated that of his predecessor, the good, simple *penitent* was at a loss to know to which she should give the preference, or if she should, for the greater security, embrace them all. This, my Lord, is no fable nor poetical exaggeration. I was once asked by one of those devotees which of the two alternatives I would advise her to choose, to stick by any one of the forementioned devotions, or to monopolize them all? 'The latter, to be sure,' said I, 'unless you have the courage to do better still; that is, to throw the whole of them aside, and stick to the GOSPEL.'" This, I doubt not, and nobody can doubt, is the secret opinion of every intelligent priest. How it may be reconciled with their practice is another thing. It is *their* concern and an awful one, whether or not the guilt of conscious hypocrisy attaches to them.

Something will be found relative to *Dispensations*, so near akin to Indulgences, in the following

pages, particularly as *Oaths* are concerned. The only rule respecting them in papal estimation is the interest of the church, that is, the Roman, blasphemously identified with religion, or Christianity. We have seen, on the most solemn platform, the reverence which has been paid to oaths. It is worth while to recal, how that sacred obligation was regarded, at no very distant period by Romanists, in whom their religion had not extinguished natural conscience and honour. In the second of what are called the *Blue Books*, of the date 1791, the "Catholic Committee," who were desirous of confirming by oath what the general body had professed in a formal "Protestation," addressed a Letter to Three of the Four Vicars Apostolic, who condemned the oath; and in page 23, they write thus:— "This protestation was converted into the form of an oath. Shall we refuse to swear when called upon by our country, what we most solemnly protested under our hand-writing? The violation of an oath may accumulate the guilt of perjury on prevarication; but veracity is equally sacred, whether a protestation be made upon honour, or upon oath. *Tantus in te sit veri amor, ut quicquid dixeris, id juratum putes*, was the exhortation of a Father of the Church, and he must be destitute of christian sincerity, who thinks he is not equally bound to tell the truth without disguise, when called upon

to make a solemn asseveration, as if he had an oath officially tendered. To recede therefore from any part of the Protestation would be a flagrant violation of veracity; a criminal prevarication; a mortal wound to the integrity of Catholics, and consequently an everlasting confirmation of the prejudice of Protestants, that our religion permits us to use duplicity and equivocation. Is it into this dishonor we are exhorted, nay required by your Lordships, to plunge?" Another illustration, equally edifying, of this honest and straightforward way of viewing things is supplied by a passage in the work of a respectable Roman Priest, the Reverend Joseph Berington. In his *Memoirs of Panzani*, 1793, afterwards published with another title, at page 433, in a note, he writes—"I am informed that *many* priests, with the vicars Walmesley and Douglas at their head, have recently withdrawn their names from the *protestation*, (the original of which is deposited in the British Museum,) and that the deed is recorded in an authentic instrument, termed a *Counter-Protestation*.—Are we, therefore, sure that there may not exist a *counter-oath?*—When our enemies, as I thought them, used to proclaim, that *no form of words could bind us*, I indignantly repelled the charge. In future, I, and others, must be silent, hang our heads, and blush."

I rather wonder at this honourable simplicity, but give the individuals full credit for their defective

information. Dens,* with his relaxity and impurity, was not then in authority and operation as the authorized guide of the Irish clergy—the rule of faith and manners. Nor did the Protesters distinctly

* British Christianity owes unlimited gratitude to Mr. M'Ghee. Mr. O'Connell has doubtless registered a vow somewhere, that he will accept no challenge from Mr. M'Ghee. Freemason's Hall was well barricadoed against all hostile intrusion, when the champion of national education, without fear of reply, triumphantly advocated a system, which should put absolute and unlimited power over the souls of the rising generation into the hands of his church, while it crippled, neutralized, and nullified the whole power of the established Christianity, not only of the church of England, but of every evangelical section of dissent. The conduct of the Wesleyans on this subject is highly honourable and efficient. The trap set for simplicity and indifference in the *Scripture Lessons* has been completely exposed by Todd and Newland. He who would form a just opinion on the whole iniquitous system should read carefully *the System of National Education in Ireland*, by J. C. Colquhoun, Esq. 1838. The variations in the scheme are purely circumstantial: the substance is unaltered; and the trickery by which the attempt, (to be frustrated, as I trust in God,) is made to impose the support of it upon the nation, plainly enough betrays the quarry from which it is brought. It is a swindling concern of Rome and her confederates from beginning to end—in principals and agents. The advantage of *mere* education as affording an access to the mind might be of some weight, if the system actually proposed were *mere* education. But it is plainly meant to be *popish*. That is the object to which it is calculated and fitted practically to work.

No one could more deeply regret at the time, and more deeply regret even now, the *single great mistake* of Mr. M'Ghee, *in se:* but in its *consequences* no event could be more auspicious to Protestant Christianity; for it has proved to demonstration, that the pretence of despising the charges of Mr. M'Ghee is the purest imaginable hypocrisy—*hypocrisy*—HYPOCRISY. It has done more.

know, or recollect, the doctrine of the great authorities of their church, which, for the most part, are simply recited by the Louvain divine. But what would these men have thought, had they lived to our times, and seen, what we have seen, since the year 1829! They would indeed have had all their blushes to themselves; for the perjured guilty would have betrayed no such weakness. The prophet Jeremiah* has anticipated them: "Were they ashamed when they had committed abomination? Nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush."

A system of iniquity and falsehood, such as the Roman, necessarily requires another system—of force, if at hand, if not—of sophistry and fraud, to support it: and this has been brought into full and profitable play by the advocates of Romanism on every controverted subject of their peculiar creed. On the main subject of the present volume, Indulgences, it will be seen that they have not failed in all the familiar tactics of defence, and have had recourse to all the artifice, evasion, fiction, trickery, and knavery, which are generally supposed to be peculiar to dishonourable institutions or pursuits.

It has converted the very silence, intended to express and be taken for contempt, into as strong a positive admission of the justice of the main charges, as if Dr. Murray, and his whole band, had thereto set their hand and seal.

* vi., 15, or viii., 12.

In fact, there are few—very few—controvertists of the Roman communion, who, when such a course offers any adequate advantage, and can be adopted without reasonable danger of detection, know how to refuse it.* To one who understands what such a

* On this subject, generally, I know no work more deserving of being read and studied than Baxter's *Key for Catholics, to open the juggling of the Jesuits*, &c. And it is an auspicious sign, that the growing interest in a most important controversy has encouraged a new edition of this valuable work, illustrated by notes derived from sources opened since the time of the estimable writer, and powerfully corroborating every division of his argument. It is no small recommendation of Baxter's work, that amidst the present exuberance of similar productions it may justly be represented as almost *unique*. In its *direct* object it is highly valuable and efficient, and its efficiency is accidentally applicable to an unexpected quarter, which wields the weapons, and exercises the stratagems, of the Italian heresy. If any thing is to be blamed in the work, it is the trifling error of making Jesuitism too prominent in the title. Papists wish to have at command the liberty of detaching this section from the main body; because that section is sometimes odious and hurtful. But popery has not the slightest right so to do. Jesuitism is absolutely part and parcel of Popery—an essential part, the very quintessence of it. Protestants therefore should not make themselves a party in the policy meant to impose upon them. In the *Church of England Quarterly Review*, No. VIII., pp. 386, &c. is an article entitled "Jesuitism and Romanism absolutely identical," where the occasional repudiation is explained and effectually scouted. In a work, too, of high importance in all respects, and which I believe to be perfectly authentic, *Confessions of a French Catholic Priest*, &c. edited by S. F. R. Morse, A.M. Professor in the University of New York, 3d ed., Dublin, 1838, there is a passage towards the end, page 209, in remarkable concurrence with the preceding observations; and the italics are the writer's own—"At the head of the Popish army are the Jesuits, the most

charge means it is painful to make it. But justice to Protestants requires, that it should be made.

cunning and daring body, the true personification of Popery, *from which it is a capital error to distinguish them;* a body the true grenadiers of the Pope, twenty times banished by the wisdom of governments, and which always finds some way to creep in again; a body composed of knights errant, who wander from city to city, from village to village, to spread every where superstition and ignorance through their discourses, medals, relics, chaplets, crosses, in which they make an immense trade." One of the best illustrations of papistic jugglery is, the terms made use of by Papal writers respecting the pope's authority in temporals—*directè* and *indirectè*, *per se* and *per accidens*, *consequenter*, *incidenter*, *secundum quid*, *secundariò*, *accessoriè*, *ordinariè*, *casualiter*, and, above all, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, which can be attached by the simplest process to any temporal matter. See the subject closely sifted in the important and interesting tract, *A Large Examination, &c. of M. George Blakwell*, &c. Lond. 1607, pp. 105, and following.—It has occurred to me, that the defence might be set up for the writers alluded to above, that *there is some truth in their writings.* To this specious and common, but very superficial instance of sophistry, I observe, that this may be the fact occasionally without any sacrifice; further, the procedure is politic. Milton understood what is "left-handed wisdom" in the human breast, and with good display of that understanding has put into the Redeemer's mouth in his reply to the Tempter, the words—

——— that hath been thy craft,

By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies. *Par. Reg.* I., 432. Pope, who was not inferior in such sagacity, writes—

And in the cunning truth itself's a lie. *Mor. Essays*, I., 68.

Let me add another sweet singer. George Herbert, in his *Church Militant*, thus describes the elegant impostures of Greece—

But all was glorious cheating, brave deceit,
Where some poor Truths were shuffled for a bait,
To credit him, and to discredit those,
Who after him should braver truths disclose.

And, without adverting to the names of James, Crashaw, Cooke, Comber, Perkins,* and numberless others, who have detected and detailed the forgeries and falsifications of papal writers—without referring to those *Testes Fraudum ac Falsationum Pontificiarum*, which is the title significantly and justly given by a protestant editor to Two Expurgatory Indexes of the Most Catholic Roman church in the world, and applicable to all the rest in their kind and degree—allowing to pass all the false and interested, both quotations and translations, such as those of the Dublin Review ;† Dr. Lingard‡ and the

" The old debauched ruffian" of Rome, who quickly makes his appearance, followed in the wake. Todd has added in his note on the place in Milton a good quotation from Augustine: Miscent tamen isti [Dæmones] fallacias; et verum quod nosse potuerint, non docendi magis quam decipiendi fine, prænuntiant. The apology therefore is not very promising, or flattering. No liar is *always* a liar. There is a very good *Pensée* of Pascal to the effect, that a mixture of truth is more mischievous than entire falsehood, which destroys itself.

* *Problema de Romanæ Fidei ementito Catholicismo.* Cant. 1604—translated in English *Works*, ii., pp. 485, &c. I might add Tho. Traherne's *Roman Forgeries*, Lond. 1673.

† No. IX., p. 43 Note; on which see *British Mag.* for April, 1839, pp. 394, &c. Dr. Wiseman, who is a consultor of the Congregation of the Index, is doubtless acquainted with the Reviewer.

‡ See Bp. Philpott's *Letters*, Southey, Townsend, Allen, Soames, Hallam, and the Edinburgh Review. The French translator of Ranke's *Popes*, who will be noticed, has made the yoke. Indeed Mr. Cobbett is in no little favour, as the splendid edition of his history, and its station in the accredited catalogue in the *Laity's Directory* attest. Although Sharon Turner makes no *express* reference to Dr. L., his history may be considered as a running confutation of the Romanist's. Indeed the protestant has

colleague so sagaciously given him by an acute Frenchman, Mr. William Cobbett, (for however discrepant in manner, they are in substance perfectly harmonious); the Reverend B. Rayment;* the Reverend Rhetorician, J. Donovan;† and, to cease, M. Alexandre de Saint-Chéron‡—I know no in-

cleared away so much falsehood from the general history of this country, particularly during the reign of Elizabeth, that no one has a right to an opinion, especially upon the latter subject, who has not read him. He is not without material faults: but his excellences most importantly predominate. C. Butler, Esq. has been settled by the three first-mentioned writers.

* In the *Official Memoirs, Preliminary Discourse by Marchetti*, pp. xxxix., xl., Rayment has, as the cause of the convention of the Council of Trent, for "the too corrupt manners which, alas! had prevailed," (*troppo, ahime! corotti costumi,*) and faithfully translated in the French version, *substituted* "the upstart sects of Luther and Calvin." I have both the Italian and French.

† This gentleman is as honest as the preceding. See Cramp's *Text-Book of Popery*, 2d edition, pp. 379—383, where the editions of 1816 and 1829 are compared—the first virtually suppressed. I have both. There was a comparatively honest translation in 1687 by a "nimble convert," John Bromley, which, with that of 1816, has the *ossa et nervi*, in vain sought for in Professor Donovan's translation.

‡ The honourable mention *du docteur John Lingard et de Cobbett* is in page xvi. of the Preface to his translation of Ranke. At p. lxxvii. is this *compulsory* Erratum. "Tome Ier. p. 249, au lieu de:

"Luther arriva a sa [fatale] doctrine de la reconciliation par le Christ sans les œuvres, appuyant [sa dangereuse erreur] de paroles de l'Ecriture-Sainte [bien mal comprises par lui et trop vivement adoptées par ses mauvaises passions]. The portions within the brackets are additions of the translator's own! Need thing more be said? M. de S. Chéron is a very worthy par-, as is the Dublin Review, of the insolent Becket of Prussia. mistakes are pardonable: but—

stance of practical knavery in the church of Rome more disgraceful than her pretence of *Poverty*—poverty, in the face of cathedrals, colleges, nunneries, churches, chapels, rising in impudent pomp, number, and obtrusion on every side of us!—poverty, in the face of enormous legacies, and no less enormous continental contributions, pouring their amount, not only upon Britain, but upon Ireland and America! The pretence of poverty in this country, however, has the recommendation of some political sagacity. It disarms jealousy, where believed. It aids applications for subscriptions from easy, no-principled protestants, which being obtained, the subscribers become interested to defend their conduct, and, as opponents, are so far neutralized. But to revert for a moment to the subject of *legacies*. No religious body is more attentive and more persevering in its attentions to death-beds, especially those of the wealthy, than the Roman. Indeed none so much. This might, if not substantiated as a fact, be certainly inferred from the principle of the church. But it is in vain to deny the fact. And it is a remarkable circumstance, that in the elder Roman *Manuals* of this country directions are given to the clerical official, whose services were made necessary, how to prescribe the form of a legal last will or testament. In fact a specific form is supplied. The testator is indeed there described as a *cleric*, and when coming to legacies to

the church, he is particularly represented as devising for the benefit of his soul. But the *laic* is as much bound to look to his soul as the other, and the way is here plainly pointed out. In two Salisbury Manuals in my possession, one of the time of Henry VIII., Antwerpie 1542, and the other in that of Mary I., Londoni 1554, I find precisely the same form in the penultimate article; and the only specification is as follows:—Item dictus testator de bonis a deo collatis ob remedium anime sue legavit fabrice vel luminarie* predicte ecclesie quinq; sol. turon̄. Item curato totidem. Item vicario. xii. d. turon̄. Item clerico. sex. d. turon̄. Item fabrice ecclie bte marie scti flori. ii. sol. vi. d. turon̄. Item elemosyne ejusdem ecclesie. xii. d. turon̄. Item hospitalibus N. cuilibet. vi. d. turonen̄. Item conventui fratrū predicatorū. xii. d. turon̄. Ite̅ legavit filiolis suis cuilibet: quindecim den̄. turonenses. Item cofrarie N. xii. d. turonenses. This form, I believe, does not appear in subsequent Manuals. Many good reasons may be given for that omission since the reformation. Before that period the efforts of a stimulating priest on the dying bed of the guilty, the superstitious, the timid, and the

* *Luminaria*, ecclesiarum, uti vocant, fabricæ, seu Ecclesiasticorum ædituorum et matriculariorum fisci. Adelung *Gloss. Man.*

insensible, were exceedingly promising; and those who, when living, discovered no enthusiastic attachment to their peculiar church, might, by the assurances of good or salvation to their souls, or threats of the contrary, if contumacious, be induced, when dying, to make the most advantageous bargain with what they could no longer enjoy. Private efforts of this kind are as feasible now as ever.*

After the present work had nearly passed through the press, I had the pleasure of reading in the British Magazine, the number for August, 1839, pp. 121, and following, an article entitled, "Indulgences lately granted to the Society of St. Willibald in Bavaria."† It has so much in corroboration of my general statements and argument, that I cannot deny myself or the reader the advantage of its main contents. It is founded on *A Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of Eichstadt, dated the Feast of Epiphany,* 1838, *to which are appended the Conditions of certain Indulgences to those who enrol themselves in the Society of St. Willibald.* The last leaf contains the *Rules* and *Terms.* The ob-

* Charles Blundell, Esq. might, as I am told, have been qualified, Parcus Deorum cultor et infrequens.

† An account of this British Saint may be seen under July 7 in Alban Butler's expurgated *Book of Fables.* He was honoured (?) by miracles—not worth particularising. In a rather handsome Breviary which I have of Eichstadt, or Aichstadt, *Eystetense,* and which from the calendar appears to be of the date of 1486, there is a particular service for the saint.

ject is the raising a fund for certain schools. The compensation for the weekly contribution of a Kreutzer, (in value about one third of an English penny,) is, I., *Plenary Indulgence* on some trifling observance, (as usual); II., *Indulgence of One hundred days*, applicable to the deceased; III., *Service* on the Octave of the feast of St. Willibald *for the souls of deceased members and benefactors*. Here then is a *Purgatorian Society* for the release of the prisoners and their consequent admission into heaven; and yet, as Gother, and other unprincipled advocates of the Roman superstition contend, nothing to do with the remission of sin; as if release from punishment were not every thing, or every thing that most sinners care about! All the rest is mere speculation. The able writer justly observes, that the condition of being in *a state of grace* is a perfect deception, as the expression is simply tantamount to being *in communion with the church of Rome;* and, as justly, he designates the whole concern, in authors, agents, and defenders, as a base, unworthy, and anti-religious imposture—an imposture too of the present century, and next to the present year.

Some suppose, that the diffused intelligence of this country is a sufficient security against the revival of popery among us, notwithstanding present appearances. I fear they are sadly out. If Protestantism is any thing it is Christianity. And it should not be forgotten, that man has a will and

affections as well as intellect. That all these, the entire human soul, are in some way poisoned and disordered, is attested not only by Christian scripture, but by fact and private consciousness. To Christianity, therefore, the whole spiritual composition of man is naturally, radically, and invincibly hostile, or vincible only by the remedy which heaven has mercifully provided and proclaimed. The will is the main rebel; and when, together with the affections, it is seduced by temptations suited to its corrupt state, it exercises a most detrimental and perverting influence upon the understanding and all its operations. In the discovery, therefore, of truth, (I confine myself to that which is spiritual,) it is at best impotent, and at worst, so hostile, that in order to escape and evade spiritual and practical truth, when powerfully urged by a condemning and terrifying conscience, it will satisfy itself with any promising substitute, and even submit to great sacrifices and self-mortification, if by no other means the conscience can be tranquillized and the indispensable peace be obtained. In this work of self-deception the services of the intellect, and all the stores which it can collect, will be placed in requisition; and, in the majority of cases, not unwillingly. And hence, in the formation of religious principle, the conviction of the understanding is frequently far less concerned than other causes quite foreign and inadequate. Hence likewise it is, that so much human

wisdom, or learning, may be characterized as neutral, or impertinent, or deceptive, or superfluous; disproportioned and distorted; redundant in some respects, deficient in others; profound in unimportant matters, perhaps superficial in important. Seneca contemplated individuals in one or other of these predicaments, when he wrote—*Ideo non discentes necessaria, quia supervacua dedicerunt.*[*] In short, learning may be sound or unsound; if sound, it may be inapplicable; if applicable, ill applied. Let the mere scholar, therefore, however extensive, varied, and profound his attainments, learn to contract himself within his due limits, and not consider himself as the sole or supreme arbiter of truth and error, if a competent one at all. Let him understand, that it may be his duty, on the most momentous subjects, to place himself in a rank beneath many of the simple and unlettered, who knowing that He, who is the author of truth, is likewise the author of the faculty which perceives it, and of the act of perceiving, have made their humble application to the fountain of Light, and have been led into the paths of truth and peace, which their self-valuing despiser has missed. And let him see well, that his united pride and folly do not precipitate him into a pit, into which some who may not have been his inferiors, even where he thinks best of himself,

[*] *Epist.* lxxxviii., where the *Heluo Librorum* will find a good deal that is instructive in his own particular case.

have fallen. Let him meditate upon the degradation of the eminently erudite Lipsius, who sullied the laurels of his literary fame by such drivelling effusions of superstition, as the *Diva Virgo Hallensis;* and the *Diva Sichemiensis, sive Aspricollis**—effusions, in the penning of which it is im-

* I have a pretty Antwerp edition in 1605 of both these discreditable morsels. How does the heart sicken in contemplating the talented Frenchman Paul Pelisson, who took so active a part in the state bribery to induce the poor protestants of France to imitate his base apostacy! See Smedley's *Reformation in France*, iii., 244—6. To think of the bribe being called by him "the holy dew!" Benoist's *Hist. de l'edit. de Nantes* verifies the whole. So does Rulhière in his generally excellent *Eclaircissemens Hist. sur la Rev. de l'Edit. de Nantes*, ed. 1788, pp. 144—152. In his collected works, 1819, it occupies the Vth volume. The semi-papal Grotius appears but just to have escaped a formal surrender. See Hallam's *Hist. of Lit.*, iii., p. 65. One Duke of Brunswick made the leap, and allowed to be published his *Fifty Reasons*, which is still popularly distributed. He must, of course, have received a liberal education. The IVth and the last, are remarkable—the IVth as announcing, by implication, what is generally, though shufflingly, denied, that there is no hope of salvation for protestants. The sentiment is at once circulated and denied—and *that*, without shame and without ceasing. The last Reason, dictated, no doubt, by his highness's learned priests, declares, that if he were to be damned, those priests are ready to answer for him at the day of judgment and to take his damnation upon themselves, which, he is made to add, he could never extort from any other ministers. We should wonder at the blasphemous effrontery as well as fatuity of these impostors, did we not recollect those, who exclaimed on a signal occasion, "His blood be on us, and on our children!" It is difficult to imagine an intellect so inferior as to give such a Reason for such a change, or to allow it to pass for his own. An excellent answer to these *Reasons* by a well known and highly esteemed *Member of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of England*, was published in 1837.

possible, however desirable, to admit the low apology of sincerity.* We have among us at this time some, not deficient in a species of learning, who are making such direct and significant advances towards Rome, that their ultimate arrival at the Vatican or St. Peter's is no absurd anticipation. Little indeed ought it to create surprise, that those who recommend it as the most legitimate and effectual method of impugning the Italian church to meet her half way, should, if they speak from experience, feel little objection, and less difficulty, in accomplishing the remaining half of the journey. The reign of James II. was short, or doubtless a great defection from Protestantism would have ensued. But the majority were cautious. They watched whether the ice would bear, before they ventured upon it. It suddenly melted before a sun from the east; and while the more precipitate were obliged to repair

* He would find no additional fetters bound upon him in this respect by the religion which he had chosen. *The new Art of Lying covered by Jesuites under the Vaile of Equivocation, discovered and disproved* by Henry Mason, London, 1624, is a complete and unanswerable exposure of the unprincipled mendacity defended and recommended by the most honoured and unreproved doctors of the Roman church. Their non-condemnation by the regular and almost periodical organs of infallible censorship is, under the circumstances, equivalent to absolute and authorized approbation. At p. 53 Mason has precisely and rather copiously quoted Barth. Pacenius's book against James I.'s oath, first referred to by Abp. Usher in his Sermon before the House of Commons, Feb. 18, 1620, towards the end. Where does the book exist?

their infidelity or indiscretion as well as they could, many were opportunely saved from a degradation, against which, it is to be feared, their spiritual virtue would not have secured them. A leaven of popery continued in the land for some time after the happy deliverance by King William III., when the sour, secular, formal, and anti-spiritual fermentation came to something like a crisis and explosion in the frantic exhibition of Sacheverel and his adherents. The same elements of popery, in present agitation in the Church of England, are likely to produce similar, and not less disgraceful and disastrous consequences. Their pestilent effects in discouraging and thwarting the best friends of Christianity, and in encouraging and assisting its worst enemies, who are not backward in claiming their new allies,* as

* It is next to infatuation, that this claim and the welcome given to the innovators by Romanists in all capacities, public and priwate, in every species of writing, should not produce some surprise and a suspicion, that they are not acting a faithful part. It may be said, that this is old papistic policy; and true it is, and much base work has been done by popery in this way. See Mason, as above, pp. 62—67, respecting Dr. Rainolds, and King, Bishop of London. Of the last Dodd, in his *History*, i., 490, 1, evidently *wishes* to believe the authors of the *Protestant's Plea*, and the *Bp. of London's Legacie*, though the impudent personification of the latter, immediately and clandestinely corrected, was a plain note of fiction. But between such claims and those made to the Oxford and associated divines, there is nothing but an obviously fallacious resemblance—identity there is none: the distinction between them is palpable. The obligation therefore

well as in throwing the torch of discord in parishes and families, is not anticipation merely, but matter of fact. To buy even some important truth at such a price, would, in proportion to its amount, be a dear purchase. But to obtain at the same price nothing but a picturesque and glowing *mirage*, or a meteoric illusion full of splendour and vacuity, would be a bargain not simply desperate, but absolutely ruinous.

The present work, it is evident, has reference to a prior one of a similar argument—"the Spiritual Venality of Rome." The main ingredient in both is *Venality;* in the first as discoverable in its priced Absolutions, in this, as appearing in its Indulgences, which are, and are not, Remissions of Sin, as it may suit. Of the public reception of the first I have no reason, or inclination, to complain. I had learned from a good instructor on such matters the wholesome and no very humiliating lesson—

> Neque te ut miretur turba, labores,
> Contentus paucis lectoribus.

Of those who may be reputed competent judges, as far as sound principles, both religious and moral,

is now imperative upon these individuals to prove, that they are acting like upright and honest men, in continuing in a community which they desert, impugn, and injure, and in receiving emoluments from an establishment, the cause of which, by substituting secondary and external things for essential, they compromise, if they do not betray.

and correct information on the subject, would qualify them so to be, I have reaped the sober and deliberate approbation, which alone is of any true value. I need not dissemble, that I am gratified by it. And it is with equal gratification I perceive that the only way, in which the work appears to be assailable, is, by statements in violation or ignorance of fact, and by logic favourable to guilt.*

SUTTON COLDFIELD,
St. Bartholomew's Eve, 1839.

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* In Matthew Poole's *Dialogue between a Popish Priest and an English Protestant, wherein the principal Points and Arguments of both Religions are truly proposed and fully examined*— a very valuable work just reprinted—is a passage at pp. 89, 90, of the edition of 1735, which I should have inserted in some suitable place in the body of this work, had it occurred to me in time. It refers to *the encouragement given to sin by the absolutions and indulgences of the Romish Church*; and contains a personal testimony of great value. "In my acquaintance, I have known several Papists that have wonderfully encouraged themselves in their wicked ways from this consideration, especially when Easter drew near; because they knew they should very suddenly be shriven, and absolved; and be, as they said, as sound and clean as when they came first into the world. I have known also divers of our loose Protestants that have turned to your religion, that they might have greater liberty for, and security in sin. And, in my conscience, if I would let my lusts choose a religion for me, they would presently lead me to your religion." I have not had the same experience, and expect to be believed in this declaration; for certainly if I had I should feel it a duty to report it, and should equally expect in that case to be believed. Upon the same ground I give unreserved credit

to the present witness. From evidence which cannot be resisted the case described is dreadfully prevalent all over the popish part of Ireland. It is no contradiction to this representation, that the papal priesthood there *sometimes* encourage a *kind* of morality and a *kind* of religion, which morality and religion nevertheless are in many points as corrupt as their opposites. They do not wish their church to be disgraced, and they *do* wish it to be honoured, in the eyes of the world. But they must *retain* their flock, and to that end must, at least it is an interest, *humour* them. In concurrence with this method of fortifying their dominion, it is no less efficacious, and in use, to possess the flock with a notion of supernatural or divine authority and power in their pastors—and what authority and power so awful and commanding as that of *binding and loosing* in the sense of the Italian church? How literal a divinity the Confessor is in the eyes of his penitents, or flock generally, is determined by a very competent witness, the Rev. John Sheehan; and his testimony will appear, on producing it, to be peculiarly emphatic. It occurs in the *Report of the Commons on Bribery at Elections*, 1835. On July 10, the Roman Priest was examined, and at p. 448, under Number 7685, we read as follows:—"What are the rules by which this system of confession is governed? The rules are these: according to the principles of the Roman Catholics the priest represents God has power from himself in the tribunal, he is there invested with the power of conferring absolution when certain conditions exist," &c. In the *Report* a line is drawn through the word *represents*, and the words *has power from* placed above as a correction. The priest saw he had made a mistake by speaking too straight-forward. I will just add, that in the answer to the next question, "Where were the rules of confession laid down?" Mr. Sheehan mentions, after Delahogue, the French priest *Collet*. The reader will find, that I have made use of this writer. To guard against erroneous inferences it is proper to bear in mind, that, from the nature of the subject, there are of necessity considerable *variations* in the policy of Spiritual Rome.

The following is a document so pertinently and powerfully confirming the contents of the present volume, that I am anxious to put it in possession of the reader. It is likewise as fresh as it can be, being a production of the present year, 1839. I derive it from the Christian Examiner for September, 1839, pp. 703, 4. It purports to be Extracts only, and is translated. I give the original alone. The Extracts are from a Maltese Paper; and the document is a Bull of Gregory XVI.

" MDCCCXXXIX.

Bolla della S. S. Crociata concessa dalla Santità del N. S. P. Gregorio XVI. per l'anno mille ottocento trentotto.

Concede S. S. à tutte le persone che pigliano questa Bolla di poter con il consenso del loro medico spirituale o corporale *mangiare carne* in tempo di Quaresima e negli altri giorni di vigilia, e che anche possano liberamente à lor arbitrio *usar uovi e latticini.*

Di piu concede S. S. à tutti li sopradetti il potersi eleggere per Confessore qualsisia Prete secol. o regol. dagli approvati dell' Ordinario, il quale possa assolverli una volta in vita ed un altra in punto di morte da ogni peccato e censura, imposta prima una penitenza salutare correspondente alle colpe; ed, in caso che sia necessaria *qualche sodisfazione* per conseguire la assoluzione sudetta, possan farla, o colle sue persone proprie, o, essendovi impedimento, *coi suoi eredi,* o con altri. Potrà ancora il detto Confessore *commutare qualunque voto benchè fatto con giuramento, facendo dar li limosina* al penitente, quel che gli piace, in benefizio della S. S. Crociata.

Forma della Assoluzione, che, una volta in vita, e un altra in punto di morte, si può usare, in virtù di questa Bolla, sopra qualsivoglia persona che la pigliasse.

Per l' autorità da Dio Onnipotente, e dei S. S. Ap. Pietro e Paolo, e da N. S. Gregorio XVI. à te specialmente concessa ed a me commessa, Io te assolvo da tutti i tuoi peccati, misfatti, ed eccessi che ora hai confessato, ed anche da quelli che confesseresti se ti occoressero alla memoria, e ti concedo indulgenza plenaria ed ampla remissione di tutt' i tuoi peccati di presente, ed in qualsivoglia tempo confessati, dimenticatti, o ignorati, e della pena che per essi *saresti obbligato à patire nel Purgatorio.*"

THE VENAL

INDULGENCES AND PARDONS

OF THE

CHURCH OF ROME,

&c. &c.

VENAL INDULGENCES OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

HARDLY a more emphatic specimen and proof could be given of the sordid, huckstering and profligate venality of the Church of Rome in the disposal of what she esteems or proclaims as her spiritual treasures, than the Summary Declaration of the Indulgences granted to the church of Saintes in Saintogne, of which a short account was given in an "Addition" to the "Spiritual Venality of Rome." I propose therefore in the present sequel of that work to present to the public the whole of that curious and instructive document in the original, with such remarks as shall appear useful or necessary for its elucidation. And this I propose to follow up with some detail of observations on the general subject.

The copy of the *Summaria* in my possession, and which I shall here reprint, is assigned by

Dr. Kloss, its former possessor, to Joh. de Limburg, 1488, Monasterii, (Munster,) and is a folio, containing six leaves. I have another document nearly identical with this in the type of Peter Schoiffer, but of later date, as it mentions at the end the confirmation of its contents by Innocent VIII. This will be found exceedingly useful in several respects.

The Summaria, as the title implies, is not the bull itself, which will be found to be Sixtus IVth's, although containing large extracts from it.

Of the original bull perhaps not a copy is at this time extant. It might be a hopeful speculation, that the whole is a fiction. The speculator, however, had better not flatter himself on this ground. But before we come to the more direct evidence on the subject, it will be well to inquire what light can be thrown upon it by history.

I had hopes, that the great work of the Summarthani, *Gallia Christiana*, the last edition, would have contributed some direct and important information relative to so celebrated a cathedral and its fortunes. But a practised friend, who examined the work for me—I have it not myself, nor access to it—assured me, that

neither in the account of the archiepiscopate of Bourdeaux, nor of the episcopate of Saintes, nor in the collection of *Instrumenta*, was any document to be found of the kind of which I was in quest.

I naturally expected to find something to my purpose in the Continuator of Baronius's Annals; and under the year 1451, IX., I read, that Nicolas V. granted indulgences for the necessary repairs of the second church, as Raynaldus affirms, in the whole world, dedicated to the honour of St. Peter. But under the year 1476, the year, with which it will be found we are concerned, he prudently, as I suspect, says nothing. The same prudent silence has been observed up to the present time.

But if we wanted proof—proof, not only of the existence of the bull supposed but of its *precise* age, (for of a date *near* the real one there is no doubt)—that proof is expressly supplied by a document in the very valuable *Collectio Judiciorum* of C. Du Plessis D'Argentre I., pp. 306, 7, second set. We have there a censure passed by the Theologic Faculty of the University of Paris in 1482, upon certain doctrines, abusively, as it is said, founded upon the Bull of Indulgence to the church of Saintes by

Sixtus IV. It matters little whether the theologues were right or wrong: the important fact is, that the document gives to the bull of the Pontiff the precise date, 1476, 3 Non. Augusti, pontificatus sui anno quinto.* We shall find this confirmed by other dates approaching pretty near to the mark. For, in the first place, we have the year of the Jubilee under Sixtus referred to in the Summaria, which is 1475; and in the duplicate, of which mention has been made, there is prefixed a very extraordinary bull of the same Pope explanatory of the first, dated 1477. So that the matter is brought pretty close. I have called the bull an extraordinary one; and as such, which it truly is, it is

* It may be worth something, however, to give the condemned proposition, as, at least there may be supposed to have been *some ground* for it. Omnis anima existens in Purgatorio ex justitia divina adjudicata ibidem stare pro quantocumque tempore, immediatè evolat ed cœlum, sive immediatè a pœna totaliter liberatur. Si quis vivorum pro ea sex albos dederit per modum suffragii seu eleemosynæ in reparationem Ecclesiæ S. Petri Xantonensis; non sequitur ex Bulla.....nec de aliqua determinata anima.....—a curious confutation! C. Chais in his *Lettres sur les Jubilés et les Indulgences*, pp. 647, 8, mentions another decision of the same Faculty, of which there are no traces in D'Argentre, printed in Paris 1510, together with their judgment on some sermons of Bernadino de Bustis, citing from the Indulgences of Saintes one in favour of those who were possessed of unlawfully acquired property, provided a part of it was appropriated to charitable purposes. Of this something will appear in the Summary.

entitled to some examination. But before we proceed to that examination, in order to obviate either fear or hope, that a question may be moved respecting its authenticity, I remark, that the identical bull, which is in vain sought in the *Bullaria,* (unless it be in Coquelines's,) is yet transferred to the faithful pages of a most unexceptionable witness, Eusebius Amort, in his work *de Indulgentiis,* Venetiis, 1738, Superiorum Permissu ac Privilegio, at pages 417, 8.*

Now for the document. In the original, as, it may be called, printed by Schoiffer, there is prefixed a title, designating the constitution as a Declaration and Determination, by which Sixtus, felicis recordationis, [therefore not living at the time,] condemns the false opinion, that the Indulgence is not more profitable to the departed than alms, prayers, and other suffrages of the church. This is evidently a misconception of his holiness's meaning, although *that* is obscure enough; and is therefore very properly omitted by Amort in his *reprint.* In the bull itself the Pope complains, that some so misinterpreted his Indulgence in favour of

* I may just observe here, that from the same writer, Amort, it appears, that the Church of Saintes was at the time a notorious subject. See the various documents referring to it at pp. 283, 411, 417, 420.

the cathedral of Saintes, as to render it of no future use, to pray, or perform pious works for souls in purgatory; and that a relaxation of good works was the consequence. The Pope declares, that such was not his meaning, but that the Indulgence was equally beneficial to departed souls, *(perinde proficeret,)* as prayers and alms. Wicked men, however, imitating the Pharisees, abused his doctrine; and even some Catholic Prelates were not undeserving of reprehension on this head. "We did not write and declare," the Pontiff proceeds, "that the Indulgence appeared to profit as if *(ac si)* prayers and alms had been offered for the souls in purgatory; nor did we mean it to be inferred, that the indulgence was not of more value than alms and prayers, or that alms and prayers were as available as an indulgence by way of suffrage: but the indulgence, we affirmed, avails equally, that is, in the same manner, as if, that is, as alms and prayers avail." *Sed eam perinde valere diximus, id est, per eum modum, ac si, id est, per quem, orationes et eleemosynæ valent.* He then re-asserts, that the plenary indulgence avails *per modum suffragii*, and so, clears the imputed ambiguity of his grant; observing very justly, that it is a rule of Theo-

logical Discipline, that every proposition of doubtful meaning should be interpreted in the sense which makes it true—*in quo vera redditur locutio.* The usual sanction concludes the whole; and the date is 5 Kal. Dec. 1477.*

The matter for scandal, however, afforded by the munificent grant to the dilapidated church was too rooted to yield to this healing attempt. We have accordingly a new revocatory bull in the very next year, 1478, in which his Holiness feels himself called upon to guard against the abuse, not only of the substance, but the multitude, of his indulgences, in rendering the faithful more prone to transgress—*ne fideles ad peccandum procliviores essent—ob indulgentias—multitudo,* &c. This proof, how little the sanctity of his lordship the Pope was able to express himself so clearly as to defend his own flock, and even its rulers, from inferring, that he meant to encourage transgression, may be supposed to have entitled it to the honour of being inserted in the standard of ecclesiastical law of the Roman Church.†

* It is curious that in my original the date of the year is 1467, which is obviously impossible, as Sixtus did not begin his reign till 1471. Amort has therefore copied a correct edition, or made the correction himself.

† Extrav. Com. lib. v., tit. ix. v.

It will afford some elucidation of the document about to be presented, if we give some account of the principal individual named in it, and who, we presume, was the author of the Commentary which it contains. No one besides has the honour of being designated by name. He is mentioned immediately after the Dean, as Professor of Theology, and as Collector, or Commissary, the principal official, in the very important practical transaction of collecting the funds necessary for the object in contemplation.* His name was Raymundus Peraudi (Perault); and we are indebted to the circumstance of his being finally created a Cardinal, that we know so much of him as the Lives of the Popes and Cardinals—the latter nearly as self-important as the former—enable us to learn. Ciaconius in his *Vitæ Pontt. et Cardd.* tom. iii. coll. 172, 3, ed. 1677, informs us, that this indefatigable official, whose name appears through the reigns of at least three Pontiffs in the variegated traffic of Indulgences, was born at Surgeres in the province of Saintonge, or rather Aunis; that he was Apostolic Nuncio under Paul II., Sixtus IV., and Innocent VIII., to

* The reader may observe, that, upon reflection, I have changed my opinion as to the author of the Summaria.

collect monies for the Turkish war; and that he was made Cardinal of Gurck by Alexander VI. He died in 1505. It appears by one or more of the many separate Indulgences or Confessionalia, on a single leaf of paper or parchment, that he was Archdeacon of Aunis, and Bishop of Saintes;* so that he had some connexion with his particular appointment. I have many of these Indulgences in my possession, and I hope to make them useful beyond the simple circumstance of their being monuments

* This indeed is attested by Ciaconius, and likewise by the continuator of Fleury's Hist. Ecc. tom. xxiv., cxvii., 74. See also cxix., 103, and cxx, 93. There is an instructive reference to the performances of Raymond under Alexander VI. in the *Chron. Citizense* of the Monk, Paulus Langius. He is asking to what place went the immense sums collected under pretence of opposing the Turk. He answers his own question—Dubio procul, ille quò indicibilis thesaurus sub Alexandro Sexto per Raymundum, gratiosissimi ac indulgentissimi Jubilei à latere legatum, contra Thurcos collectus devenit, in cardinalium videlicet et præsertim papalium amicorum æraria repositus. *Rer. German. Script.* Struvii, iii., p. 1281, ed. Ratisb. 1726. Dupin, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Cent. xvi., 1st part, p. 351, informs us, that Perault, after an unsuccessful legation in Germany to obtain funds against the Turk, "in a full consistory, told them, what complaints had been made to him, in several countries, concerning the immoralities of the Cardinals, and exhorted them to reform their manners, and to live more regularly." Eng. translation. All this is highly probable; but the Cardinals might answer, that his advice was not backed so suitably and forcibly as it might be by his vocation.

of the profligacy of Romish venality in spiritual things.

We are now brought up to the document itself, concerning which there are yet some observations necessary. No punctuation occurs in it but that of the *period*, which is used to represent all pauses. In the present reprint therefore the whole punctuation is to be put to the editor's account. In a document not over luminous this has been considered as the most eligible procedure; and the reader is apprised of it, that he may feel at full liberty to use his own judgment. All the errors are copied, and generally either rectified or pointed out. The extracts from the original bull will be visibly distinguished. There may indeed have been more bulls than one, as the *plural number* is sometimes used. The word *Textus* uniformly precedes the quotation; and it is generally sufficiently apparent where the quotation terminates. The whole in the original is one type; any variations therefore which may now appear are to be ascribed to the editor. There are no notes, either of page or folio, nor signatures; the marginal marks therefore of folia and verso, as well as others pointing out the main divisions, are to be considered in the same light.

The Indulgences in the following document refer principally, not exclusively, to one class of the interested, the departed, supposed to be in Purgatory. The Living will come more fully under consideration afterwards.

[Fo. i.] ¶ Summaria declaratio bullæ indulgentiarum ecclesiæ Xañctonensis ejusdem* et [pro] tuitione fidei concessarum.

[P]rimo notandum est quod quatuor gratiæ principaliter conceduntur per dictas bullas cunctis christifidelibus dictam ecclesiam Xantonensem certis diebus durante decennio visitantibus; aut ad illam per nuncios ecclesiæ de bonis suis mittentibus.

[I.] *Prima* gratia jubelei [sic]: Et quia jubileus per omnia et singula conceditur cunctis christifidelibus de bonis suis mittentibus, sicuti visitantibus dictam ecclesiam, necessario attendendum est circa ea quæ primo conceduntur visitantibus dictam ecclesiam, ut per illa cognoscatur quæ et quales indulgentiæ, gratiæ, et facultates, conceduntur mittentibus pariter ad instar visitantium. Sequitur textus Bullæ.

Sixtus Episcopus serres servorum Dei Universis christifidelibus præsentes litteras inspecturis salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Salvator noster Dei patris unigenitus Christus Ihesus, qui pro universorum salute fidelium carnem sumere et crucem subire non abnuit; ac beato Petro apostolorum

* The word *ejusdem* seems plainly to imply that the original bull preceded: although from the absence of any typographic mark in the present document *that* cannot be ascertained. The *plural* which is used in the first paragraph would lead to the supposition, that there was another bull, or more.

principi, collatis sibi clavibus regni cœlestis, ligandi atque solvendi tradidit potestatem, ejusque vicarium tam excellentissimæ auctoritatis plenitudine stabilivit successoribus suis, qui ejus vices tenerent in terris, exemplum laudabile præbuit imitandum; ut sicut idem redemptor noster humano generi salutem præparavit æternam—Ita nos, qui insufficientibus meritis ipsius apostolorum principis sumus ordinatione supernâ successores effecti, considerantes venerabiles ecclesias, præcipue cathedrales insignes, non modico sumptuoso opere constructas, sæpius non medioeribus reparationibus et restaurationibus indigere, ac ecclesias ipsas, ne ad ruinam perpetuam tendant, christifidelium donis et muneribus temporalibus, ipsosque christifideles sanctorum meritis et intercessionibus ac indulgentiis et remissionibus præsertim plenariis multum posse adjuvari; pro ecclesiarum hujusmodi restaurationibus et reparationibus fiendis christifidelibus prædictis ad consequendum cum electis æternæ hæreditatis et beatitudinis portionem indefessas nostræ vigilantiæ curas totis nixibus impendamus; Dudum siquidem cupientes ut ecclesia Xantonensis, quæ secunda in honore beati Petri principis Apostolorum extitit in toto orbe terrarum, ecclesia per Karolum magnum dotata et quæ sumptuoso plurimum opere edificari, ut accepimus, cœpta erat, ad cujus operis consummationem, necnon chori, claustri, navis, et aliorum edificiorum ejusdem ecclesiæ reparationem, quæ eciam deformitati subjacere videban-

tur, et irreparabilem minabantur ruinam, propriæ non suppetunt facultates, sed ad hoc christifidelium suffragia fore noscuntur quam plurimum oportuna; Carissimi in christo filii nostri Ludowici christianissimi Francorum regis ac dilecti Jacobi fratris nostri rr. sancti Crisgoni presbiteri Cardinalis Papiensis nuncupati,* qui archidiaconatum de Alvisio in dicta ecclesia ex apostolica dispensatione obtinet, piis supplicationibus et desideriis inclinati indulgentiam et plenissimam peccatorum remissionem per felicis recordationis Nicolaum quintum et Pium secundum Romanos Pontifices prædecessores nostros, christifidelibus dictam ecclesiam [sic] certis tunc expressis diebus et temporibus concessas cum certis facaltatibus, prout in nostris inde confectis litteris quarum predecessorum eorundem litterarum hujusmodi formas et tenores ac si de verbo ad verbum præsentibus inserentur haberi volumus pro expressis, plenius continetur, de novo concessimus et præsentium tenore confirmamus, et in earum robore quo ad omnia et singula in eis contenta permanere volumus. Cum autem, sicut accepimus, a nonnullis revocetur in dubium, an dictam ecclesiam Xantonensem modis et formis, ut in aliis litteris nostris continetur, visi-

* Of this cardinal tit. S. Chrysogoni, as it ought to have been, and created by Pius II., see an account in Ciaconii. Vit. PP. et CC. ii., coll. 1058, et seqq. He was complimented by his master for his ultra-execution of the pecuniary commission entrusted to him.

tantes easdem tales et tantas consequentur, quales et quantas, indulgentias, qui certas basilicas et ecclesias almæ urbis anno Jubilei ad hoc deputatas visitantes consequuntur; Et an Episcopus decanus et capitulum prædictæ ecclesiæ Xanctonensis per se et seorsum confessores deputare valeant; Nos igitur hujusmodi ambiguitates de medio amputare, et predicti dilectissimi filii nostri Ludowici christianissimi Francorum regis, et dilectæ in Christo filiæ Carolæ reginæ ejus consortis piis iteratis precibus inclinati, et amplioris gratiæ prerogativa dictam ecclesiam Xanctonensem prosequi volentes ac cupientes, ut dictæ ecclesiæ ruinæ obvietur, necnon fidelibus ipsis devotio eo magis augeatur qui ex hoc dono cœlestis gratiæ conspexerint se refectos, litteras ac indulgentias predictos [prædictas] quoad terminum festi pentecostes ab occasu tertiæ feriæ immediate sequentis harum nostrarum literarum serie apostolica auctoritate extendentes pariter et ampliantes decernimus, quod privati qui dictam ecclesiam visitaverint et manus adjutrices porrexerint, tantas et tales indulgentias consequentur, quales et quantas fideles ipsi utriusque sexus anno jubilei almæ urbis certas basilicas visitantes, juxta nostrarum et predecessorum* nostrorum super hoc confectarum literarum tenore, consequati fuerunt aut consequi potuerunt et poterunt in futurum. Indulgentias autem et remissiones ad instar jubilei et ipsum jubileum in forma ecclesiæ consueta autoritate pri-

[*b]

dem ex certa nostra scientia de nostræ plenitudinis potestate et de Domini miseratione, confisi, tenore presentium, eisdem visitantibus elargimur et indulgemus.

Volentes tamen quod ad instar ecclesiarum urbis dicti christifideles habeant visitare quatuor altaria per dictos Decanum et capitulum deputanda: Circa quod notandum. quod ex tenore bullarum Apostolicarum visitantes ecclesiam Xanctonensem habent tales et tantas indulgentias, quales visitantes basilicas urbis tempore jubilei; scilicet jubileum in forma ecclesiæ consueta. Et quia nullus de lege posita potest consequi remissionem, nisi contritus et confessus habenti auctoritatem et facultatem absolvendi, et quia actus activorum sunt in patiente disposito, ut dicti christifideles possint facilius promereri dictum jubileum.

Sanctissimus Dominus noster dat *triplicem facultatem* confessoribus deputatis vel deputandis in ecclesia, et tales habent deputari per commissarios sive nuncios in aliis locis. Ex quo per omnia et singula mittentes habent tales et tantas indulgentias, gratias, et facultates, ac si Xanctonensem ecclesiam visitassent mittendo per supradictos nuncios. Videant predicatores quomodo sex laude digna conferebantur tempore jubilei. Levitici. xxv.

[i.] *Prima facultas* concessa confessoribus est generalis omnibus, scilicet absolvendi. Primo a quibuscunque casibus et criminibus a sententia excommunationis a jure vel ab homine etiam auctoritate apostolica per Bullum Pii ad [illegible]tantiam partis; et hoc intelligitur quo ad effectum [illegible]entiarum consequendum, dumtaxat re fiat prejudi-

cium, ordinatio autem parti læsæ. Secundo a casibus reservatis sedi apostolicæ in genere vel specie, qui dicuntur casus penitentiariorum urbis ; sub qua clausula non veniunt casus papales, ymmo in die cœnæ Papæ excommunicat omnes illos, qui virtute talis clausulæ, in qua habetur dumtaxat illa clausula generalis de casibus sedi apostolicæ in genere vel specie reservatis sine alia expressione absolvunt a casibus papalibus : ideo per Bullam Xanctonensem, quod raro visum fuit in aliis bullis, confessores possunt. Tertio modo a casibus reservatis Sanctissimo domino nostro Papæ possunt absolvere, qui dicuntur in stilo pœnitentiariæ urbis, casus de expresso, quia sine expresso mandato Domini Papæ nullus debet aut potest absolvere a talibus casibus etiam tempore jubilei ; sicuti sunt presbitericidium ; patricidium ; enormis læsio in clericum ; impedientes Romipetas ; impedientes auctoritatem et jurisdictionem summi Pontificis ; et in mortem ejus conspirantes ; homicidium pensatum, sive ex proposito deliberato ; et cæteri casus contenti in bulla quæ legitur in urbe, in die Jovis cœnæ, præsente summo Pontifice et dominis Cardinalibus ; per quam bullam Papa excommunicat illos omnes, qui de hujusmodi casibus absolvunt sine expresso mandato Domini Papæ. Ideo videatur Textus Bullæ, Circa istam clausulam quæ est singularis et insolita dari. Ex quo sequitur ergo, quod omnes confessores in absolvendo non possunt errare, cum detur omnibus confessoribus facultas absolvendi a quibuscunque criminibus, nedum sedi Apostolicæ in genere vel specie reservatis, sed etiam sanctissimo domino nostro ; inhibetur tamen simplicibus confessioribus, ne se intromittere habeant de absolvendo de hujusmodi criminibus Sanctissimo domino nostro reservatis, sed habeant remittere ad doctos viros illis committendo tales casus, vel illos consulere antequam a talibus absolvere habeant.

TEXTUS BULLÆ.

Ut autem christifideles antedicti utriusque sexus et cujuscunque status ad eandem confluentes ecclesiam conscientiæ pacem et animarum salutem præsentesque indulgentias ad instar jubilei, Deo propitio, consequantur, purgatisque eorum cordibus ad illas suscipiendas constituantur promptiores spiritu et gartiæ [gratiæ] salutaris, Episcopo Xanctonensi, Decano, et capitulo prædictæ ecclesiæ Xanctonensis per se et seorsum damus facultatem confessores tot quot voluerint ydoneos deputandi, regulares vel sæculares in dicta ecclesia et ejus circuitu ac aliis in locis dictæ civitatis et in suburbis.

Qui quidem Episcopus, decanus, et capitulum et confessores possint audire confessiones quorumcunque dictam ecclesiam visitantium et pro majori eorum quiete, et conscientiarum examinatione, etiam per quatuor dies ante tempus hujusmodi indulgentiarum, et in illo ac post illud per quatuor alios dies eorum confessionibus diligenter au-
[*Fo. ii.] ditis,* eos omnes et singulos ab universis et singulis sententiis excommunicationis a jure vel ab homine latis etiam ad instantiam partis, anathematizationis, suspensionis et interdicti aliisque sententiis, censuris, et pœnis quibuscunque canonis undecunque et qualitercunque contractis: Necnon ab omnibus et singulis criminibus, excessibus et peccatis quantumcunque gravibus et enormibus etiam sedi apostolicæ in genere vel specie reser-

vatis, ac si de omnibus mentio fieret expressa, specialis, et specifica, et quæ nobis vel successoribus nostris deberent exprimi et declarari ante eorum absolutionem, etiamsi harum absolutio per quasvis regulas aut constitutiones nostras vel predecessorum nostrorum Romanorum Pontificum, seu corum aliquem aut quæuis alia scripta adeo sedi Apostolicæ reservata forent, quæ in generali confessione minime comprehendi [comprehendere] valerent, quibus omnibus et singulis quo ad hoc derogatum esse volumus, et expresse et ex certa sententia per presentes derogamus, absolvere et penitentiam salutarem injungere.

Item supradicti confessores possunt commutare omnia vota, demptis quatuor magnis votis, et componere de eisdem, quæ vota reservantur commissario apostolico, collectori, et ejus in hoc parte succollectori, vel commissario.

Item supradicti primi confessores deputati poterunt removere omnem infamiæ maculam contractam perjurio, vel alias, et omnes inhabiles quocunque modo ad beneficia et ordines abiles reddere, ac si dictam maculam minime contraxissent.

TEXTUS BULLÆ.

Omnemque inhabilitatis et infamiæ maculam perjurio aut alio quocunque modo contractam abolere, et ad pristinos honores, privilegia, status, et dignitates, ac si supradictam maculam minime contraxissent, reducere; juramenta quæcunque relaxare;*

* The reader must be careful not to give the word *relaxare* the sense of the English word *relax*—it is *absolute release*.

jejunia cuncta, si voto vel alias ad illa obligati existant, remittere, et in alia pietatis opera commutare.

Item per bullam Pii* quæ confirmantur [confirmatur] per Bullas Sixti, datur facultas dictis confessoribus absolvendi illos, qui habent mala ablata, quocunque modo habeant, et illos perpetuo quitandi, dum tamen nesciatur cui debeatur fieri restitutio dando dictæ ecclesiæ sic res male ablatas in toto vel in parte. Textus Bullæ Pii. Et super incertis et male ablatis, si eorum, cui restitutio fieri deberet, notitia non haberetur, absolvendi; et perpetuò, ita quod ad illorum restitutionem amplius non tenerentur, nec ad id possent per quempium inviti coartari, quitandi et absolvendi.†

[ii.] *Secunda facultas* quæ dumtaxat datur specialiter deputatis et non generaliter, quæ solet dari viris graduatis deputatis expresse pro dicta facultate quæ magis concernit forum exterius quam interius, cum in fero interiori per primam clausulam omnes confessores possunt absolvere, est facultas dispensandi super quacunque irregularitate qualitercunque contracta, et cum symoniace promotis, prout clarius in textu bullæ continetur, quæ est maxima facultas.

* Secundi.

† A most tempting clause to extortioners and unprincipled debtors of all descriptions. A *part* given to the church secures the *remainder* to themselves. And who is to be the judge of what the party is *ignorant* of? Perhaps the *right of private judgment* would not be questioned here even by the head of the Church of Rome. The reader will recollect the reference of Chais in a note at the beginning. Such rogues could not be *compelled* to pay—*quitandi et absolvendi*.—See Adelung Glossarium.

TEXTUS BULLÆ.

Præterea Episcopo, Decano, et capitulo præfatis aut ab eis specialiter deputatis damus facultatem dispensandi super quacunque irregularitate qualitercunque contracta, et cum symoniace, vel alias non rite et canonice promotis vel ordinatis scienter vel ignoranter, etiam si mediatores hujusmodi forent, ut ad omnes etiam presbiteratus ordines promoveri, et in eis licite ministrare possint, et eos abilitandi ad dignitates, canonicatus, et prebendas, ac quæcunque alia beneficia sæcularia vel regularia eis conferenda, si alias illorum capaces forent ut recipere et obtinere valeant.

Predicta facultas fuit etiam concessa per bonæ memoriæ Pium: Textus Bullæ Pii. Et præterea ut majus proveniat animorum salutis incrementum volumus, et dicta auctoritate concedimus, quod Episcopus, Decanus, et capitulum ecclesiæ pro tempore existentes, et confessores per eos deputandi omnes et singulos utriusque sexus fideles eis vel eorum alteri confiteri volentes, a quibuscunque excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti, aliisque sententiis, censuris et pœnis, in eos pro tempore, a jure vel ab homine, quavis occasione vel causa etiam apostolica auctoritate in genere vel specie, latis et promulgatis, possint absolvere, ac cum personis ecclesiasticis secularibus vel regularibus hujusmodi sententiis ligate [ligatis ?] missas et alia divina officia celebrando, seu se in illis immiscendo irregularitatem contraxerint, super ea et quavis alia irregularitate per eos quomodolibet contracta dispensare.

[iii.] *Tertia facultas*, quæ est magis specialis, conceditur Decano ecclesiæ, collectori,* sive commissario apostolico,

* *The Collector* or Apostolic Commissary is soon after expressly named.

et illius subcollectori sive commissario, et pro ista facultate in una ecclesia, si commissarius non sit præsens, solet deputari aliquis notabilis doctor; si sit præsens aut [*b.] pastor vel locum tenens,* aut aliquis alius, qui utitur duntaxat dicta facultate, quæ continet *tria puncta*. *Primum* est admittendi resignationes beneficiorum optentorum [sic] per symoniam, et componendi de fructibus male perceptis ex dictis beneficiis, sicuti fit de votis. *Secundum* est facultas conferendi de novo eisdem symoniacis auctoritate apostolica dicta beneficia. *Tertium* est facultas commutandi quatuor magna vota quæ in practica et stilo Curiæ Romanæ dicuntur vota excepta, eo quod sub generali concessione nunquam veniunt, nisi Papa post generalem concessionem commutandi vota dicat in textu bullæ etiam de votis exceptis de quibus quatuor magnis votis scilicet Iherosolimitani; Apostolorum Petri et Pauli; sancti Jacobi de Compostella; et religionis, quod intelligitur ante professionem, commissarius vel illius subcommissarius possunt dispensare et commutare in alia pietatis seu caritatis opera et de illis componere.

TEXTUS.

Insuper Decano dictæ ecclesiæ et dilecto filio Raymundo Peraudi* sacræ paginæ professori dicto canonico ac collectori nostro vel succollectori conferendi eisdem symoniacis de novo, postquam irrenunciaverint in eorum manibus dicta beneficia si per symoniam habita et obtenta, et eos restituendo dictis beneficiis vel officiis; et de fructibus male perceptis componendi et remittendi secundum quos

* *Observe the introduction of the important official, Perault.*

opus fuerit, et pro eisdem, Decano, collectori et succollectori videbitur faciendum: Necnon vota quæcunque excepta commutandi et relaxandi per presentes concedimus facultatem.

¶ Notandum quod licet supradictæ facultates sint primo concessæ visitantibus, eædem tamen tales et tantæ sunt concessæ mittentibus. Vide texum [sic] bullæ, Ceterum cum hii, &c.

¶ In qua clausula summus Pontifex facit *duo*. *Primo* ex eo quod Carolus magnus Francorum rex dotavit illam ecclesiam, et quia etiam rex defunctus supplicuit [sic] pro dictis gratiis, qui maxima affectione ducebant addictam ecclesiam, dat et concedit de gratia speciali jubileum et omnes gratias in bullis apostolicis contentas regi et illius officiariis, et ipse etiam multa dona contulit ecclesiæ, ideo illi et suis dat specialiter dictas gratias, ex qua clausula quidam sumentes occasionem pro causa voluerunt restringere ad regnum Franciæ, ubi Papa non restringit, ymo mandat in fine indulgentiarum ubicunque locorum ordinariorum, licentiâ etiam minime requisitâ, dietas indulgentias debere publicari. *Secundo* in dicta clausula generali concessione in illo puncto " caterique utriusque sexus fideles, &c." dat gratiam jubilei et cæteras facultates omnibus christifidelibus de bonis suis ad dictam ecclesiam per nuntios ecclesiæ mittentibus per omnia et singula, ac si diebus statutis prædictam ecclesiam Xanctonensem visitassent.

TEXTUS.

Cæterum cum hii, qui obsequiis et servitiis dilectissimi filii nostri Christianissimi Francorum regis

ejusque consortis carissimi infantis Dalphini [sic] Vienensis ac cæterorum eorum liberorum pro tuitione et augmento rei publicæ prefati regni Franciæ insistentes; Cæterique utriusque sexus fideles diebus et temporibus statutis per se ad visitandum dictam ecclesiam venire non potuerint, ne eis cedat in pœnam quod in animæ profectum cedere debet, volumus motu et auctoritate, quibus supra, ut dum semel in anno, durante dicto decennio, præfati fideles dictam ecclesiam visitaverint, manusque adjutrices porrexerint, ut prefertur, vel per certos nuncios, per eosdum Decanum et capitulum deputandos, aliquam pecuniæ quotam vel valorem* juxta dictorum Decani et capituli ordinationem ad dictæ ecclesiæ raparationem miserint, eam indulgentiam qnoad omnia et singula eligendo confessorum [confessorem] ad eorum arbitrium consequentur, quam assecuti fuissent si dictam ecclesiam una de statutis diebus visitassent; supra dictæ vero facultas [facultates] dumtaxat concernunt jubileum.

[II.] *Secunda gratia* concessa indifferenter omnibus et singulis christifidelibus dictam ecclesiam Xanctonensem visitantibus, vel ad illorum arbitrium ad dictam ecclesiam de bonis suis per nuncios ecclesiæ mittentibus, est facultas confessionalis, quæ præter confessionalia† solita dari, con-

* The reader may here observe the *pecuniæ quotam vel valorem*—the money payment fixed by the Dean and Chapter. This appears again soon.

† The *Confessionalia* were certain short forms on parchment [illegible] (of which the reader will have more in time), which

tinet unum singulare, scilicet præter totiens quotiens de casibus reservatis dyocesanis nedum semel in vita, sed totiens quotiens homo verisimiliter dubitat de morte sua, etiam si tunc non moriatur, utputa existentes in procella maris; homines obsistentes in obsidione; mulieres prope partum, vel in partu; moram trahentes in loco in quo viget pestis; et sic de multis aliis. Ita est inaudita clausula præcipue pro transfretantibus. Ista clausula debet practicari erga illos, qui dicunt se habere confessionalia.

TEXTUS BULLÆ.

Præterea volumus ut si christifideles utriusque sexus infra decennium præfixum terminum indulgentiarum de bonis suis pro reparatione dictæ ecclesiæ Xanctonensis speciali intentione pie distribuerint, vel per nuncios capituli miserint etiam post dictum decennium, possint eligere confessorem secularem vel regularem, qui eos ab excessibus et delictis, præterquam sedi apostolicæ reservatis, totiens quotiens opus fuerit absolvere; et in mortis articulo plenariam suorum peccatorum remissionem eis valeat impartiri. Et quia sæpenumero contingere poterit, ut hi de quibus verisimiliter dubitatur quod sint ab hoc seculo migraturi, qui virtute harum

conveyed spiritual for pecuniary treasure, and which Tetzel with somewhat of facetious gravity called *Literæ salvi conductus*, letters of safe conduct; for they made all sure for the next world. See *Examen Concilii Trid.* a Chemnitio, Part iiii., c. xii., § 2, p. † 109, a, ed. 1707: likewise *Hist. Lit. Ref.* Von der Hardt, 1717, Part iv., p. 15.

credere, secundum quod continetur in bulla, quod Papa potest dare remissionem plenariam animabus in purgatorio per modum suffragii, qui modus per modum suffragii non derogat modum auctoritatis. Et dicere Papam hoc posse facere per modum auctoritatis, ut dicit Bonaventura, non est multum in probe [improbe*] resistendum ; ymmo debemus agere gratiam Deo qui talem potestatem dedit Summo Pontifici, qualis potest dari homini puro.† Sed quod dicit, per modum suffragii, non est intelligendum, sicut multi simplices voluerunt dicere, scilicet per modum suffragii, ac si fierent preces vel darentur elemosinæ [sic] pro animabus præfatis ; quam opinionem Sanctissimus dominus noster per unam bullam pro ista materia damnavit, cum suffragia ecclesiæ et indulgentia per modum suffragii videantur differre, sicuti finitum ab infinito, quantum ad efficaciam satisfactionis ; quia suffragia sunt finita in satisfactione, et indulgentiæ ratione meriti passionis Christi, in quo fundantur, sunt infinitæ quoad satisfactionem, si pœnæ essent [b*] infinitæ in purgatorio per inpossibile [sic] de* lege

tum, § 6, tom. viii., col. 154, ed. Bened., amounts to nothing more, than, that the authority of the church, *then being*, by the evidence which it produced, commanded his belief in the gospel, as a genuine and divine revelation— the virtual foundation of every protestant's belief. The *object* of belief is another thing. See the passage of Augustine completely rescued from pontifical perversion by means of Gerson and Durand in Stillingfleet's *Rational Account of the Grounds of the Protestant Religion*, ed. 1681, p. 184. See likewise Joh. Wesseli *Epistolæ*, *Ep. de Indulg.* cap. viii., Ceterum, &c.

* So in the duplicate.

† Here let the reader well observe, that it is the opinion of the Saint, Bonaventura, and *approved* by the compiler of this summary, yet in the cautious way that the Oxford Popish tracts are sometimes approved, that the Pope can release souls in Purgatory *by his own authority*.

posita: Sed debet intelligi per modum suffragii, hoc est, quia indulgentiæ dantur semper pro pia causa, utputa communiter pro tuitione fidei vel reparatione ecclesiarum præcipue insignum [sic]; et quia animæ in purgatorio non possunt aliquid contribuere; ideo indigent auxilio amici, qui faciat illud, pro quo data est indulgentia, utputa dare quotam* ordinatam per capittulum, [sic] et hoc est per modum suffragii. Sicuti si summus Pontifex daret indulgentiam etiam pauperibus viventibus non potentibus dare sub hac forma; utputa si aliquis illorum parentum aut amicorum daret illud quod statueretur in bulla, sic dare indulgentiam etiam vivis pauperibus esset per modum suffragii: ideo valde decipiuntur aliqui excedentes [credentes†] quod per modum suffragii aliquid diminuat de indulgentia plenaria, cum nichil diminuat, sed dumtaxat arguit impossibilitatem ex parte animarum in purgatorio ad faciendum contenta in bullis; ita esset de pauperibus viventibus, si divites darent ad cistam pecuniam pro illis pauperibus; et isto casu pauperes habent indulgentias per modo suffragii, et secundario, scilicet per modum auxilii amici divitis, qui adimplet pro paupere quidam nequit per se pauper adimplere, videatur; ergo per modum suffragii nichil diminuit de remissione, neque de auctoritate in ordine ad concedentem indulgentias, sed volentes protervire [sic] nolunt vinci rationibus, et pro omni ratione habent docere quod non credunt.‡ Et

* Hard must be hearts of friends and relatives who would refuse to contribute the *quota* in behalf of the poor *helpless* souls who were suffering in the furnace which the Pope had made for them, and for whom he makes so tender an appeal!

† So in the duplicate, which however varies, a little after, from the present document.

‡ Both the grammar and argument here are rather obscure; but the intended conclusion is, that there is no diminution of the benefit.

ab illis qui sic ducuntur in ammirationem quærendum est ab eis, qua ratione per ecclesiæ suffragia et qualiter unusquisque christianus, qui non est distributor thesauri ecclesiæ universalis, neque est vicarius Christi, potest prodesse animabus in purgatorio, ut in c. animæ defunctorum xxvii. q. iiii. &c.* quod autem, de pe. et re† in antiquis. Et hoc, ratione meriti passionis Christi, in quo valor et efficacia omnium ecclesiæ suffragiorum fundatur, et multo magis vicarius Christi, præcipue, qui est generalis distributor hujusmodi thesauri: sentire oppositum videtur sapere hæresim. Item cum summus Pontifex in articulo mortis possit remittere pœnas debitas in purgatorio, videtur quod pœna purgatorii sic [sit‡] de foro suo; et sic per modum auctoritatis videtur hoc facere, cum etiam purgatorium non sit nisi carcer ecclesiæ.‖

Item unusquisque reus fortiter [sortitur§] forum ratione delicti ad quemcumque locum se transferat, etiam extra territorium in quo fecit delictum, semper remanet sub jurisdictione domini, sub quo fecit delictum: ad quem dominum spectat eum remittere vel punire: videtur ergo quod quia animæ fecere delictum in hoc mundo sub jurisdictione summi Pontificis, dum viverent, quod ratione pœnæ sequentis tale deliceum [sic] fuit sub jurisdictione summi pontificis.** Sunt aliæ infinitæ rationes, quæ possunt adduci contra tales sine

* *Decretum, pars* II., *causa* xiii., *quæst.* 2, § 22.

† *De Penitentiis et Remissionibus, Extrav. Comm. tit.* ix. *cap.* 5.

‡ So in the Duplicate.

‖ Purgatory is under the Pope's authority, because it is nothing but the church's jail.

§ So in the Duplicate.

** The fugitive is under the jurisdiction of his lord, *wherever he flees*, therefore, &c.

causa admirantes ; sed, quia istæ sunt clariores contra rudes, illas volui inserere pro simplicibus cum supportatione magistrorum nostrorum, ad quos spectat rationes demonstrativas et non dialecticas determinare. Sed tu posses dicere quod non de foro Papæ, quia Christus non dedit potestatem Petro et suis successoribus ligandi et solvendi nisi illos, qui sunt super terram ; quod patet per illud quod dicitur Mathei xxvi.* *Quodcunque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum*, &c. Dicitur quod licet existentes in purgatorio non sint super terram, pro nunc, tamen cum meruerunt ut communicatio thesauri ecclesiæ sibi prodesse posset, erant super terram. Et ideo, licet simpliciter non sint super terram, tamen ratione meriti, quo meruerunt ut post mortem per indulgentias juvari possent, sunt etiam quodammodo super terram, ut dicit deTerre cremata [sic] ; quia sicut hic, qui sunt super terram, sunt in via et non in termino ; ita etiam existentes in purgatorio sunt in via et intransitu [sic] ad patriam, quantum ad mundationem suæ pœnæ, quia mundantur licet sunt in termino quantum ad confirmationem, quia amplius pecare [sic] non possunt.†

Unde nota quod ista propositio *Quodcunque solveris super terram* habet duplicem sensum, secundum quod illa additio *super terram* potest determinare illud pronomen *tu* vel ly‡

* This mistake for xvi. is in the Duplicate.

† Observe the logic : the power is restricted to "on earth;" but the prisoners were on earth when they might have shared in the church's treasure : therefore they are *quodammodo* on earth still.

‡ This odd, but genuine monosyllable gave myself and my friends no little trouble. I have observed its occurrence in S. Thomas, and frequently in Cajetan, his Opuscula particularly ; and though the meaning, being generally applied to the same subject as that here discussed, was pretty plain, I could learn

quodcunque; si determinet pronomen *tu*, tunc est sensus—Quodcunque *tu*, Petrus, existens vicarius meus super terram solveris illud reputabo solutum et in cœlis; et sic vera propositio, quod Papa solvit animas a purgatorio, ipso existente vicario Christi super terram, sic etiam solveret vivos, et sic exponunt domini Canonistæ illam propositionem. Si *ly, super terram* determinet, *ly, quodcunque*, tunc est sensus —quodcunque solubile existens super terram tu solveris, illud est solutum in cœlo. Et similiter est vera propositio, quod Papa solvit animas a purgatorio existentes super terram quoad meritum, et quo ad suffragia. Nam super terram esse dicuntur quoad suffragia ecclesiæ, et eis comunicari [sic] possunt, sicut vivis. Etiam sunt super terram quoad hoc quia meruerunt, quando decesserunt in capi-
[Fo. iv.] tata,* ut illis indulgentiæ et cætera suffragia applicari possent.†

Item dicuntur esse super terram, et sunt realiter, quia sunt de ecclesia militante et non triumphante.

nothing further, till a friend informed me, that he had met with a friend of his, of known antiquarian research, who informed him, that it was frequent in old authors and MSS., and that it was no more than the French *la*, in antient Romance dialects *li*, or *ly*, employed as the Greek τo by Latin writers to define a particular word or sentence. To the question of another friend, why did not these writers use the Greek article, it appears a sufficient answer, that the schoolmen, with whom I apprehend the practice originated, were not very intimate with Greek. See Caj. I., Tract. iii., c. 2; and xv., c. 2. ed Lugd. 1558.

* This should evidently be *caritate*, if the duplicate had not so rectified it. But the error is a true word of the middle age, meaning *peace*, which might lead to the mistake.

† All the foolish parade of this argument might have been spared by simply inquiring, whether *super terram* were to be construed with *tu* or *quodcunque*.

Item purgatorium est in terra, et etiam multi doctores tenent, quod animæ in purgatorio existentes dicuntur facere pœnam, ubi commisêre delictum ; et hoc videmus aliquotiens quomodo spiritus sive animæ post mortem apparuerunt suis amicis, implorantes suffragia ecclesiæ. Si dicatur quod Papa non potest illos ligare ergo neque solvere, Respondetur dupliciter: Primo quod non sequitur quia ipsi, dum viverent, non meruerunt ut ligarentur, sive ut ligari possent post mortem, quia nullus meretur ligari ab ecclesia, nisi propter peccatum mortale cum contumacia ; Ideo cum animæ in purgatorio non possunt peccare, nec possunt ligare [ligari] etiam a Deo, neque a Papa de lege posita, sed bene meruerunt, dum viverent, ut juvari et solvi possent post mortem. Vel dicitur quod tunc non est tempus ligandi ; sed bene solvendi.

¶ Et si dicatur, ipsi non sunt de foro Papæ, respondet Bonaventura, quod licet quantum ad statum præsentem non sint de foro ecclesiæ, tamen bene ratione meriti, quo meruerunt ut juvari possent. ¶ Vel dicitur, quod licet non sint de foro justitiæ ipsius Papæ et ecclesiæ, sunt tamen de foro misericordiæ. ¶ Vel dicitur secundum Alexandrum de Halis, quod ymmo sunt de foro ipsius ecclesiæ militantis, quantum ad solutionem suæ pœnæ, licet non quantum ad alia. Datur tale exemplum : Archiepiscopus Coloniensis excommunicavit aliquem de sua diocesi propter aliquod forefactum ;* iste sic excommunicatus vadit moratum Parisius ;† iste licet non amplius sit de jurisdictione episcopi Lutionensis‡ quantum ad omnia, est tamen de jurisdictione

* Crime—Forfait, French. Adelung.

† The common orthography in the middle ages for Parisiis. See Labbé's Councils, &c.

‡ Lusson in Poitou.

sua, et de foro suo quantum ad absolutionem ab excommunicatione, quia non potest absolvi ab episcopo Parisiensi. Similiter et existentes impurgatorio [sic] dum viverent, erant de foro ecclesiæ ; et dum viverent in eorum confessione, virtute clavium ecclesiæ fuit commutata pœna æterna in pœnam temporalem ; ad quam sustinendam vel hic vel in purgatorio fuerunt obligati ; quia igitur virtute clavium ecclesiæ, dum existerent super terram, fuerunt obligati ad sustinendam illam pœnam vel hic vel in purgatorio, licet quoad nunc non sint de foro ecclesiæ, quoad omnia tamen, quantum ad solutionem ipsius pœnæ, sunt de foro ecclesiæ, ac possunt solvi de thesauro ecclesiæ. Et cum tales ducti in ammirationem dicunt se non vidisse concessas tales indulgentias, si fuissent tempore Calixti, qui dedit talem gratiam in Hyspania ecclesiæ cathedrali Tirasensi,* potuissent vidisse talem indulgentiam. Si tales vadnat [vadant] ad urbem poterunt videre in ecclesia sanctæ Praxedis, quomodo Pascasius quintus dedit indulgentiam plenariam per modum suffragii animabus in purgatorio, quam undecim summi Pontifices confirmaverunt ; prout legitur in autentica litterâ in introitu capellæ, in qua est colunna, [sic] ad quam fuit ligatus Christus in domo Pilati, quæ in maxima reverentia habetur ; et taliter quod etiam mulieres non intrant capellam illam ; et fuit data illa indulgentia in hac formam, [sic] quod quicunque celebraverit vel celebrari fecerit quinque missas pro anima parentis aut amici existentis in purgatorio, dictus Paschasius dat remissionem plenariam per modum suffragii tali animæ. Et ibi habetur quod dictus Paschasius post mortem cujusdam sui nepotis dictas quinque missas pro anima nepotis in dicta capella celebravit : scribitur ibi quod post celebrationem quintæ missæ, dum

* Tarazona in Aragon.

esset adhuc in altari dictæ capellæ apparuit sibi supra altare in testitudine [sic] fenestræ, quæ est ante altare, *virgo Maria visibiliter extrahens animam nepotis a purgatorio:* hæc sunt vera, approbata, et auctentice [sic] scripta in introitu dictæ capellæ.

Item summi Pontifices dederunt pariter indulgentiam plenariam pro animabus in purgatorio, visitantes [sic] ecclesiam beati Laurentii extra muros de urbe predictis animabus in hunc modum, prout legitur etiam in duplo bullæ coram magno altari, sub quo jacent corpora beati Laureutii [sic] et beati Stephani protomartyris; scilicet quod quicunque singulis quartis feriis totius anni dictam ecclesiam devote pro anima patris aut alterius existentis in purgatorio visitaverit, dicti summi Pontifices dant remissionem plenariam dictæ animæ, pro qua dicti fideles dictam ecclesiam visitaverint, et hoc per modum suffragii. Nunquid etiam tenetur in urbe, quod quicunque celebraverit vel celebrari fecerit unam missam in altari beati Sebastiani extra urbem, unam animam liberabit a purgatorio, sed meritum Christi multo majoris meriti quam meritum missæ: ideo, &c.*

[b.] Ista sunt antiqua, qui visitaverunt urbem, si voluerint videre supradicta, non tamen est mirandum, si tales ad pauca respicientes mirari habeant, cum etiam cum primum fuerint datæ indulgentiæ plenariæ pro vivis, tempore beati Gregorii, tanta fuit difficultas ad informandum populum quomodo summus Pontifex possitsic ad suum arbitrium remittere pœnas debitas pro peccatis, quod Doctor venerabilis Altisiodorensis in sua summa recitat, quod per centum annos

* The managers of this delicate concern had something to do to convince those who *in admirationem ducuntur*—who felt, not only some wonder, but some *doubt*, upon the subject. But large bills of credit were drawn upon the newly discovered, or rather, newly created, territory; and it was necessary to be vigorous.

duravit briga* post beatum Gregorium, antequam ad plenum reciperentur indulgentiæ plenariæ. Videatur expresse in hac materia XXII. C. secundo libro Dyalogorum beati Gregorii, in quo Petrus ejus discipulus miratur animas defunctorum in Invisibili judicio constitutas potuisse absolvi a prælatis ecclesiæ : vide textum ad quod respondet beatus Gregorius allegans Illam auctoritatem ad propositum pro defunctis, ubi plures allegant contra. In quo c. mortuos seu defunctos etiam auctoritative a prælatis posse a pœnis purgatorii absolvi ; videatur textus : et concessa est tanta auctoritas prælatis ex eo præcipue quod ad hoc factus est caro homo Deus, ut quantum se humiliavit tantum exaltaret naturam humanam : vide textum et nota singula verba, quæ laude sunt digna in ista materia.

¶ Sequitur textus dicti capituli, quod intitulatur de ancillis Dei, quæ post mortem pro oblatione ejus comunioni [sic] sunt redditæ : Capitulo xxiiii.

[V]ix ipsa, Petre, communis ejus locutio a virtutis erat pondere vacua ; quia cujus sese cor in alta suspenderat, nequaquam verba de ore illius incassum cadebant. Si quid vero non jam decernendo sed minando diceret, tantas vires sermo illius habelat, ac si hoc non dubie atque suspense, sed jam per sententiam protulisset. Non longe ab ejus monasterio quidam [sic†] sanctimoniales feminæ, nobiliori genere exortæ, in loco proprio conversabantur, quibus quidam religiosus vir ad exterioris vitæ usum præbebat obsequium : sed sicut nonnullus [nonnullis] solet nobilitas generis parere ignobilitatem mentis ; ut minus se in hoc mundo despiciant, qui plus se cæteris aliquid fuisse meminerunt : necdum prædictæ sanctimoniales feminæ perfectæ linguam

* Rixa, Lis. Adelung.

† The duplicate, though out of order, has *quædam*.

sub habitus sui fræno restrinxerant; et eundem religiosum virum, qui ad exteriora necessaria, eis obsequium præbebat incautis sæpe sermonibus ad iracundiam provocabant. Qui cum diu ista toleraret, perrexit ad dei hominem, quantasque pateretur contumelias enarravit. Vir autem Dei hæc de illis audiens, eis protinus mandavit dicens: " corrigite linguam vestram, quia, si non emendaveritis excomunico vos." Quam excomunicationis sententiam non proferendo intulit, sed intentando. Illæ autem a pristinis moribus nihil mutatæ, intra paucos dies defunctæ sunt, atque in ecclesia sepultæ. Cunque [sic] in eadem ecclesia missarum solempnia celebrarentur, atque ex more dyaconus exclamaret, " si quis non comunicat, det locum," nutrix earum, quæ pro eis oblationem domino deferre consueverat, eas de sepulchris progredi, et exire de ecclesia videbat. Quod dum sæpius cerneret, quia ad vocem dyaconi clamantis exibant foras, atque intra ecclesiam permanere non poterant; ad memoriam rediit, quæ vir Dei adhuc illis viventibus mandavit, eas quippe communione se prinare [sic] dixerat, nisi mores suos et verba corrigerent. Tunc servo Dei cum magno mœrore nunciatum est. Qui manu sua protinus oblationem dedit dicens, " Ite et hanc oblationem pro eis offerri Domino facite; et ulterius excomunicatæ non erunt." Quæ dum oblatio protinus fuisset oblata, et a dyacono juxta morem clamatum est, ut non communicantes ecclesiam [sic] exirent, illæ exire ab ecclesia ulterius visæ non sunt. Qua in re indubitanter patuit, quia, dum inter eos, qui communione privati sunt, minime recederent, communionem a domino per servum domini recepissent.

☙ PETRUS.

[M]irum valde quamvis venerabilem et sanctissimum virum, adhuc tamen in hac carne corruptibili degentem,

potuisse anima solvere in illo tam visibili judicio constituta, [sic].

GREGORIUS.

[Fo. v.] [N]unquam, nam, Petre, in hac adhuc carne non erat qui audiebat, *quodcunque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum et in cœlis; et quæ solveris super terram erunt soluta et in cœlis.* Cujus vicem nunc et ligando et solvendo optinent [sic], qui locum sancti regiminis fide et moribus tenent. Sed ut tanta valeat homo de terra, cœli et terræ conditor in terram venit e cœlo, atque ut judicare caro etiam de spiritibus possit, hoc ei largiri dignatus est, factus pro hominibus caro, quia inde surrexit ultra se infirmitas nostra, unde sub se infirmata est firmitas Dei.

PETRUS.

¶ Cum virtute signorum concorditer loquitur ratio verborum.

[V]ide etiam capittulum [sic] de suffragiis defunctorum in compendio theologicæ veritatis secundum Thomam intitulatum, Utrum indulgentiæ defunctis valeant. Sequitur textus. Papales indulgentiæ prosunt defunctis in purgatorio. Ut patet, quia crux datur aliquando pro duabus vel quatuor vel decem animabus. In ecclesia enim est thesaurus meritorum tam Christi quam perfectorum, de quo solus Papa (qui habet claves hujusmodi thesauri pro necessitatibus ecclesiæ) potest accipere et dispensare. Alii autem sicut Episcopi non habent in hiis potestatem generalem sed limitatem, [sic] et non nisi per summi Pontificis dispensationem dicimus: ergo, quod Papa proprie non solvit defunctos a pœna, sed pro eis de communi thesauro ecclesiæ solvit. Sed viventes utroque modo solvit Papa. Illi autem, quibus dantur indulgentiæ, non possunt eas ulterius neque vivis neque defunctis communicare aut dare, si forma rescripti hoc

non habeat. Et hoc duplici ratione. Primo quia indulgentia non est donum collativum gratiæ, sed privativum sive remotivum pœnæ. Privatio autem, cum nihil sit, aliis communicari non potest. Secundo quia dare indulgentias est auctoritatis et jurisdictionis, quam non habent illi, quibus dantur indulgentiæ, ex eo quod indulgentiam recipiunt vel promerentur. Ideo non possunt dare defunctis indulgentiam neque etiam vivis per auctoritatem, sed solummodo boni operis sui suffragium, si forma rescripti hoc habeat, et hoc per caritatem : Papa vero utramque potest. Hæc pauca ex multis sufficiunt illis, qui majora in hac materia non viderunt.

[IV.] *Quarta et ultima gratia*, quæ non multum minoris efficaciæ videtur quam Tertia facultas pro animabus in purgatorio. Sed sanctissimus dominus noster volens ostendere diferentiam inter indulgentiam plenariam pro animabus in purgatorio per modum suffragii, et inter suffragia ecclesiæ pro dictis animabus, concedit unam quartam clausulam distinctam a tertia pro dictis animabus, quantum ad applicationem suffragiorum ecclesiæ pro dictis animabus, in purgatorio existentibus ; et etiam pro dictis fidelibus porrigentibus manus adjutrices dictæ ecclesiæ vult et concedit, quod dicti fideles manus adjutrices porrigentes, et illorum parentes et benefactores defuncti, qui cum caritate decesserunt, utputa quorum animæ sunt in purgatorio, sint particeps [participes*] in omnibus suffragiis ecclesiæ universalis nunc et imperpetuum, [sic] quæ est maxima gratia, si bene practicetur. Primo quoad vivos, qui multotiens propter ecclesiæ suffragia ab infinitis malis preservantur ; etiam quando sunt in peccato mortali, et non sunt digni exandiri ; in quartum [sic] participant virtute hujus gratiæ

* Duplicate.

in suffragiis ecclesiæ; ecclesia orat Deum pro illis, ratione cujus ab inauditis et infinitis malis liberantur, et facilius resurgunt a peccato mortali, et a statu peccati ad primam gratiam, sicuti legitur de beato Paulo, qui assistebat in lapidatione Stephani, qui precibus dicti Stephani conversus est; ut dicit Augustinus in libro de prædestinatione sanctorum,* si Stephanus non orasset, ecclesia Dei Paulum non habuisset. Et etiam precibus matris beati Augustini conversus est ad fidem beatus Augustinus, ut dicit de ipso in iiii. confessionum,† ut de multis legitur. Ecce igitur quomodo ecclesiæ suffragia prosunt illis, qui illorum sunt participes, sicuti sunt virtute hujus clausulæ; quia solus summus Pontifex potest christifideles facere generaliter participes in omnibus suffragiis ecclesiæ universalis. Cæteri autem prælati particulariter possunt hæc facere. Quomodo etiam talia suffragia prosunt defunctis amicis parentibus aut benefactoribus? in hunc modum, ut apparet, videlicet, quia omnia ecclesiæ suffragia ratione caritatis, in qua decesserunt, et sicut dictæ animæ prædicta suffragia concurrere possunt ratione hujusmodi participationis ad satis-
[*b.] factionem totalem et plenariam;* quod autem de pœna et remissione pro dictis animabus, cum hæc sit intentio summi Pontificis, ad quem sic vel sic spectat applicare auctoritative et dispensative ecclesiæ thesaurum, et etiam ecclesiæ suffragia. Ex quo sequitur, quod dicti fideles dictam gratiam participationis obtinentes, qui erant obligati ad preces et cætera ecclesiæ suffragia pro dictis animabus parentum aut benefactorum, a quibus ut in pluribus receperunt bona, ex quibus vivunt et sustentantur, ratione

* In the *Sermo* 215, § 5, *in Natali S. Stephani*, tom. v., Appendix. Ed. Ben.

† Cap. xi.

dictæ participationis exonerant multum suam conscientiam erga dictos parentes et benefactores defunctos, virtute hujusmodi indulgentiæ.

TEXTUS BULLÆ.

Volumus insuper omnes utriusque sexus christifideles de plenitudine potestatis ex nostra mera liberalitate, qui manus visitando vel mittendo per supradictos nuncios pro dicta ecclesia porrexerint adjutrices, ac omnes et singulos eorundem parentes defunctos, qui cum caritate decesserint, in omnibus precibus, suffragiis, elemosmis, [sic] jejuniis, orationibus, disciplinis, et cæteris omnibus spiritualibus bonis, qui fiunt et fieri poterunt in tota universali sacrosancta Christi ecclesia militante, et omnibus membris ejusdem, in perpetuum participes fieri.

Super ista gratia notandum est, quod licet sit distincta a gratia confessionalis, et quod etiam juxta tenorem bullæ debeat dari nova *taxa*,* tamen dominus decanus et capitulum ecclesiæ Xanctonensis, et commissarius Apostolicus ordinaverunt unam taxam dari pro confessionali, et participatione suffragiorum ecclesiæ universalis, duas taxas reducentes ad unam taxam minimam, in comparatione ad tales et tantas gratias simul contentas in dicto confessionali. Ideo quum multi mirantur de taxa, dicentes quod habuerunt confessionalia tempore aliarum indulgentiarum pro ita parvo pretio, quod cedit in scandalum totius ecclesiæ, cum videatur fuisse factum de dictis confessionalibus, sicuti fit de

* Let the reader give his attention to the TAXA, which is here formally introduced, though the *quota pecuniæ* appeared before at the beginning.

mercibus, et exposita sunt venditioni in ludibrio, dicendo 'Quid vultis mihi dare, et ego vobis tradam;' illis Respondendum est dupliciter—Primo quod thesaurus ecclesiæ non debet sic vilipendi sicut temporalia; et quia in urbe unum confessionale simplex, quod neque continet remissionem plenariam, totiens quotiens homo dubitat de morte, neque continet participationem omnium ecclesiæ suffragiorum pro vivis et defunctis, sicuti istud, est taxatum ad tres florenos vel fere, &c.

Item pariter alia confessionalia virtute aliarum indulgentiarum acquisita non continent illa duo singularia punta [sic]* Ideo non mirandum venit, quod taxa excedat alias taxas; ideo deberent potius tales ammirari, quod, attento tanto thesauro et stilo curiæ Romanæ, taxa confessionalis et participationis sit ita parva.† Et si tales, fortassis avaritia ducti, credunt nimiam taxam, attendant quod non verentur singulis diebus pro sustentatione corporali majorem taxam exponere, de qua non conqueruntur: quanto minus deberent facere exponendo pro salute, quia corpus est plus quam indumentum, et anima plus quam corpus. Hæc scripta sunt propter aliquos, qui conquesti sunt de taxa.‡ Et cum arguunt, Ergo *pauperes* non acquirent dictas indlu-

* The plenary remission on demand or when death approaches r is apprehended, *in articulo mortis*—and a share in the purgarial suffrages.

† The greatness of the treasure, and the practice of the Roman court, considered, the objectors ought rather to wonder at the smallness of the tax. But their avarice, &c.

‡ Who is not disgusted at this profane hypocrisy?—The case immediately follows, and is as curious as it is revolt- calls forcibly the epistle of Myconius, which, among may be found in Gerdes, *Introd. ad Hist. Ev. um.* pp. 28, &c. and in *Appendix of Vita Texeli* itemb. 1717.

gentias, [sic] Respondetur cum doctoribus, quod etiam in aliquibus conditio pauperis est detherior [sic] quam divitis; scilicet in materia indulgentiarum, quæ solet dari pro pia causa, porrigendo manus adjutrices; et quia pauperes summæ [sic] non possunt dare, ideo in illo casu sunt detherioris conditionis quam divites. Et dico, salva aliorum pace, quod meilus [sic] est quod pauperes non acquirant hujusmodi indulgentias, quam sic propter tales thesaurum ecclesiæ vilipendere, quod fieret sicut factum fuit dando sic confessionalia magis conferenti et etiam minus conferenti, sicuti fit de mercibus, et ita reducendo ad parvam taxam, cum non sint facienda bona, ut inde sequantur mala; vernutamen [sic] spectat ad commissarium adtendere aliquid ad statum pauperum, prout solet facere, et honestum est.

Item notandum pro instructione aliquorum simplicium, quod jubeleus [sic] sive [sine] aliis tribus facultatibus, et e contra alia sine jubileo, et pariter unaquæque facultas sive [sine] aliâ obtinere potest; utputa, jubileus per se pro animabus in purgatorio per se; etiam associatio et participatio in suffragiis ecclesiæ universalis, licet etiam ponatur in confessionali, potest obtineri per se; et tunc danda est modica taxa, quæ taxatur pro confessionali et dicta participatione, cum una taxa sit ordinata pro duabus gratiis.

Item notandum est pro solutione aliquarum dubitationum, utrum oportet homines confiteri pro obtinendis omnibus supradictis quatuor gratiis. Respondetur quod pro obtinendo gratiam jubilei et remissionis plenariæ oportet hominem confiteri; et causa est, quia remissio respicit proprie abolitionem pœnæ temporalis commutatæ ex pœna æterna, virtute contritionis et confessionis in effectu vel in voto; quæ contritio dicitur delere culpam dispo-
[*Fo. vi.] sitive; a Deo autem effective deletur* illam remittendo. Aliæ autem tres gratiæ, utputa gratia con-

fessionalis ; indulgentia plenaria pro animabus in purgatorio ; et associatio sive participatio in suffragiis ecclesiæ universalis possunt acquiri sine confitendo ; immo quod plus est, confessionale potest accipi et acquiri pro amico absente non cogitante, et tunc valebit illi quando acceptabit. Sed quum vult uti dicto confessionali, oportebit confiteri. Et quia indulgentia pro animabus in purgatorio non sortiter [sic] suam efficaciam virtute caritatis amici dantis elemosinas pro dictis animabus, sed virtute caritatis, in qua decsserunt [sic] dictæ animæ ab hoc sæculo, virtute cujus sunt capaces indulgentiarum et ecclesiæ suffragiorum, et nobiscum unitæ ; ideo non est necessarium hominem, volentem acquirere dictam gratiam pro dictis animabus, confiteri. Esset tamen ad meritum acquirentis, si hoc faciat, et magis gratum Deo ; neque pro dictis gratiis visitandæ sunt ecclesiæ deputatæ pro jubeleo [sic] sicuti pro vivis, sed dumtaxat danda est taxa in *capsa** pro illis animabus, pro quibus vult dictam indulgentiam illis valere et suffragari. Hoc idem dicen-

* In an original *Copia bulle plenissimarum Indulgentiarum Sancte Cruciate* by Innocent VIII, 1488, is a very curious account of the Capsa, or Cista, used on these occasions. The precaution was adopted, not unusual among secular persons, of having three keys to the chest, each in possession of a responsible individual ; and when the collected money was removed, one or two notaries were to be present to obviate any suspicion of improper appropriation. There is a very interesting article on this subject in the *Museum Hist. Phil. Theol.* of Theodore Hase Bremæ, 1728, vol. I., pp. 311, et seqq., where an account is given by a cotemporary of the opening of the Indulgence chest at Embden in 1486. The gold and silver were separated with the greatest caution, and the amount attested by a clerical notary, Theodoricus Luteke, which was 290 Rhenish Florins. In both these transactions our friend Raymond Perault was the principal officer, for he was then commissary. See some curious notices of the three keys in Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*, p. 38, and Append. 50, *fol. second edition.*

dum est de participatione suffragiorum universalis ecclesiæ. Cætera autem relinquo discretioni magistrorum nostrorum et cætera.*

Item summe notandum est et attendendum circa pœnas, quas incurrunt ipso facto impedientes publicationem hujusmodi indulgentiarum, sive directe, aut indirecte fiat, et pariter contra murmurantes ;† et quod dictæ indulgentiæ possunt, etiam licentia cujuscunque minime quæsitâ, publicari ubicunque locorum. Pœnæ sunt excommunicatio, anathema, maledictio æterna ; et quoad ecclesiasticos suspensiones a divinis ; quas pœnas sententiæ, excommunicationis, anathematizationis, et suspensionis, ipso facto impedientes aut murmurantes incurrunt.

Item sub similibus pœnis præcipit quibuscunque etiam religiosis mendicantibus vel non mendicantibus, non obstantibus quibuscunque privilegiis, de non publicando indulgentias, et non posse cogi sub censuris quod dictas indulgentias publicare habeant, dum fuerint requisiti.

Item. S. D. N.‡ vult quod hæredes usurpatorum bonorum hujusmodi indulgentiæ etiam possint cogi ad restitutionem illorum, quæ usurpata fuerint, præter supradictas pœnas.

TEXTUS BULLÆ.

Verum quia forsan nonnulli malignitatis inbuti spiritu, in publicationibus indulgentiarum et literarum hujusmodi se remissos seu rebelles, vel negli-

* The good catholics must have wondered both at the *quantity* and *quality* of the spiritual treasures which they had acquired, however little they could, or were intended to, understand them.

† A tolerable punishment awaits these *murmurantes*. What does the offence precisely mean? Mere *grumblers* indeed would be vexatious enough.

‡ Sanctissimus Dominus Noster.

gentes reddere niterentur; eisdem auctoritate, scientia, et tenore, quibus supra, statuimus atque decerminus [sic] quod quicunque locorum ordinarii etiam metropolitani, aut eorum vicarii vel officiales seu Abates, [sic] aut alterius cujuscunque dignitatis ecclesiasticæ, seu alii inferiori gradu constituti, si perrochialium [sic] ecclesiarum rectores, seu eorum vicarii aut locum tenentes, vel alias ecclesiasticæ vel mundanæ cujuscunque dignitatis status, gradus, vel conditionis, qui pro parte dictorum Decani et capituli dictæ ecclesiæ fuerint requisiti.—Etiamsi religiosi mendicantes vel non mendicantes fuerint, non obstante quocunque privilegio quoad hoc quod minime eis volumus suffragari præsentes litteras et singula in eis contenta, ut ad veram singulorum fidelium notitiam deveniant, debite non publicaverint; et illas publicari non permiserint, seu se in illis affectata malitia negligentes, aut rebelles, reddiderint,——excommunicationis sententiam cum suspentionibus a divinis volumus et decernimus eosdem ipso facto incurrere; a qua quidem sententia non nisi a nobis vel successoribus nostris Romanis pontificibus canonice intrantibus, præterquam in mortis articulo et postquam condignam satisfactionem fecerint, absolvi possint et valeant; declaramusque eos similes censuras et pœnas incursuros, si aliquid directe vel indirecte pro publicatione earundem exegerint, præcipientes sub similibus pœnis quatenus per suas litteras faciant publicare.

Item ue [ne] supradictæ indulgentiæ possint aliquomodo impediri, quin plenarium sortiantur effectum, Sanctissimus Dominus noster declaravit per suas bullas apostolicas, quod per quascunque suspensiones generales aut speciales in favorem cruciatæ aut alias, etiam si fieret specialis mentio de dicta indulgentia Xanctonensi. Etiam si durante tempore indulgentiarum contingeret summum Pontificem decedere, non vult propter hoc, quod dictæ indulgentiæ debeant impediri, quin sortiantur suum plenarium effectum.

[b.] Item ne tales sic inpedientes [sic] aut murmurantes maneant impuniti etiam in foro contradictorio, S. D. N. dat facultatem Decano et collectori apostolico vel illius succollectori, seu commisario, tales sic impedientes publice excomunicari, aut denunciari facere, ubi opus fuerit.

TEXTUS.

Volentes quoque motu et auctoritate prædicta ut omnes contradictores aut quovismodo impedientes prædictarum nostrarum litterarum, indulgentiarum denunciationem aut publicationem, Decanus et capitulum, aut noster collector vel succollector possint publice excomunicatos facere denunciari, non obstantibus quibuscunque similium vel aliarum quarumcunque indulgentiarum specialibus vel generalibus suspensionibus et revocationibus per nos aut prædecessores, et forsan successores nostros, de illis ex quacunque causa vel ratione, etiam si pro quacunque expeditione contra Christi nominis inimicus [sic], vel sub quavis verborum forma factis et figendis [fiendis?] quas etiam si de illis earumque totis tenoribus specialis et expressa et non sub conditione

mentio habenda foret, ad literas et concessionem hujusmodi se minime extendere decernimus per præsentes.

Item sunt advisati singuli christifideles dictas indulgentias, gratias, et facultates obtineri [sic] volentes, quod propriis manibus habeant ponere suas elemosinas in cista ad hoc deputata, tam pro jubeleo [sic], pro commutatione seu relaxatione votorum ; pro rehabilitatione super quacunque irregularitate ; pro absolutione a symonia et compositione fructuum male perceptorum ; pro absolutione a sententia excommunicationis majoris vel minoris ; et pro cæteris aliis facultatibus in litteris apostolicis contentis, demptâ facultate confessionalis, pro qua obtinenda danda est pecunia distributori confessionalium.

TEXTUS.

Quique visitantes manu propria transmittentes vero per fidem [fidum] nuncium id, quod ad opus hujusmodi dederint, in dicta capsa fideliter reponere teneantur, alioquin indulgentiæ hujusmodi eis minime suffragetur [suffragentur].

SEQUITUR CLAUSULA.

Item concedimus quod si vere confessus in via moriatur, quod ab omnibus peccatis suis sit penitus absolutus. Et nihilominus mandamus angelis paradisi, quatenus animam illius a purgatorio prorsus absolutam in paradisi gloriam introducant.*

* This may truly be regarded as a mere repetition of a passage in the celebrated bull of Clement VI. found in his life by Herentals, Prior of Floreffe, in the *Vitæ Paparum Aven.* of

Baluze I., coll. 309, et seqq. This has been referred to in the Addition to the Venality, and its authenticity vindicated, with effect, as I still think, against the exceptions of Baluze, coll. 915–917. With respect to the testimony of John Wessel I have somewhat to add. I will transcribe the passages from the work itself, which is not as Wolfius has given the latter of them, in his *Lect. Mem.* i., 714, from the *Farrago*, but from the *Epistolæ, Ep. adv. Hoeck, Decanum*, &c. cap. vii. and viii., *de Indulgentiis*. In the viith chapter Wesselus writes, Non puto ego in regula fidei censendum quicquid Bonifacius octavus, vel post eum Clemens aut Gregorius determinaverunt. Satis ad hoc venerabilis ille Gerson, palam reverendissimus ille Antoninus confitelur, copias bullarum Clementis tantam continere orbitantiam, quod non credit fuisse bullatas, quæ tamen hodie Viennæ, Limovis, Pictavis, plumbatæ in thesauro privilegiorum reservantur. Baluze, on what authority I know not, makes the places designated to be, Vienne, Raiz, and Poictiers. He may be right. In ch. viii. Wessel records the censure of the Parisian Theologians. Neque parum horrori mihi est verbum tuum illud quo mones quod magis quam pro ratione mihi esse debet autoritas Papæ. Nunquid parisiensi facultati Theologiæ, non dico ratione majus fuit, imo nunquid fuit pro ratione Clementis autoritas, quando temeritatem illam Angelis in cœlo præcipientem reprehenderunt, et correxerunt, quando crusesignatis ad eorum vota tres vel quatuor animas ex purgatorio, quas vellent elargiebantur. Item nunquid quando indulgentias a pena et culpa publicabant. Horum tamen errorum hodie bullæ plumbatæ reperiuntur. In justice I will acknowledge, that I do not find in the bull itself the clause a pena et culpa; it was probably in the particular Confessionalia, and is in itself a trifle compared with the rest. Now, with respect to this testimony, which Baluze has no more disposed of than he has of the others, there is a remarkable confirmation, of which Baluze gives no intimation. I trust his honesty too well, not to believe that he was perfectly ignorant of it. In the very volume of Wessel which contains the testimony above is an elaborate *Answer*, written immediately after his death by a champion of Hoeck, Antonio de Castro, a dominican and professor of theology in the convent of the Hague. Coming regularly to the viith ch. he satisfies himself with observing, that a particular exorbitancy

of the Pope ought not to be construed into a general rule. His observation on the viiith ch. deserves to be given in his precise words. After quoting the passage from Wessel as it stands above, and rebuking the Parisian Divines for their presumption, he proceeds— Si pie illam bullam interpretari voluissent, non pro temeritate, sed pia et sincera voluntate hæc dicta agnovissent. Nam in oratione nostra cotidiana imperative videmur loqui deo dicendo, dimitte nobis debita nostra, deduc me domine, &c. et fere in singulis nostris orationibus aliis nostris. Quare non salvatorem nostrum sic oratione monentem reprehendunt, sicut istum Clementem si modus ille imperative loquendi reprehendendus sit? A few lines of common place follow on the desire of inferiors to depress superiors to their own level; and then the author resumes: Et si iste Clemens inordinato zelo nisus est modum excedere nunquid propter hoc omnes alias bullas Papales debemus repellere? certum est quod non. Now here is plainly no attempt whatever to impeach the alleged fact. The very apology assumes and admits, or rather confirms it. In an able and most willing adversary, nearly enough cotemporary with the object of attack to have all the advantage of his death, and the presumption of accurate information, such a testimony is most stringent.

This being the fact, it is less a matter of surprise that we should have the additional and important testimony to the authenticity of the entire bull of Eusebius Amort, who has inserted it at length without the slightest derogatory expression in his work *De Indulgentiis*, pp. 69, 70.

We may be allowed to add the plain reference to the particular clause under consideration by Luther in his *De Captivitate Bab.* under the head *Sacramentum Penitentiæ*, where he asserts that the Papists have drawn the whole sacrament to the support of their church's tyranny—donec quidam et angelis in cœlo ceperint mandare, et jactent incredibili et furentissima impietate, se cœlestes et terreni imperii jura in his accepisse, atque in cœlis etiam ligandi potestatem habere, &c. Bp. Fisher in his *professed answer* to this work of Luther, does not, as far as I can find, question the allusion in the foregoing passage.

Oudin, in his *Commentarius de Script. Ecc.* iii., coll. 2707—2715, has given a very extended and satisfactory account of Johannes Wesselus, and incontrovertibly distinguished him from

another of nearly the same name, Johannes de Wesalia, who has frequently been confounded with him. Of the latter individual, a very worthy man, and very similar in character and treatment to the former, Orthuinus Gratius, in his *Fasciculus Rerum Exped. et Fug.* foll. clxiii., et seqq., edit. 1535, has given in pretty full detail an account of an examination before the Inquisitor of Mentz, including his degradation, together with his compulsory public revocation of several presumed heretical tenets. Of him there is likewise an ample account in Oudin, immediately following that of the person who is so generally, but mistakingly, identified with him.

The sentence in the Bull before us and that in Clement VI. corroborate each other—they are independent documents.

Amort has shewn some generalship in throwing the testimony of Wessel, the *Lux Mundi*, on Indulgences, under the head of *Heresies*, &c.

It may be satisfactory to the *English* reader to have the substance of the more pecuniary part of the preceding document in a language intelligible to him, and rather more at length than appears in the "Venality."

The *quota* and *pecunia* is sprinkled throughout and pervades the whole; but it appears most expressly and distinctly under the *Fourth*, and last *Grace*, which is for the purgatorians *by way of suffrage:* the *Third* was *by direct authority of the pope.* Here we have a distinct grace with reference to the application of the suffrages of the church both to the spirits in purgatory, and to the living who contribute to the church of Saintes; and they, with their defunct parents and benefactors departing in charity, may enjoy all these suffrages here and for ever: which is a greater grace, properly administered, particularly to the living, who, though in mortal sin, are hence preserved from infinite evils. The faithful, too, obtain what generally is reserved to the pope to grant. The new grace is distinct from the [common] confessional, and therefore a *new tax* is due.

Yet the dean and chapter, with the commissary, have appointed *one tax* to be given for the confessional, and participation of the church's suffrages, reducing *two taxes* to *one*, and that a *small* one, compared with the great benefits received. The *admirers* complain that formerly these benefits were more reasonable, and make indecorous jests on the subject. But the treasure is not to be degraded to the rank of mere temporal matters, and because in Rome one simple confessional, which contains neither plenary remission, nor *totiens quotiens*, nor participation of the church's suffrages for the living and the dead, is charged *three florins or thereabouts*. It should be no wonder, if the tax exceeded other taxes: the wonder rather should be, considering the magnitude of the treasure, and the usual charges of the apostolic chamber, that the double benefit was taxed so low. The grumblers ought to esteem the soul more than the body, for which they grudge no expence. And since they contend that the poor are less considered than the rich in these matters, it is alleged, that such being the case in other respects, it is better that they should be destitute of the benefit, than that the treasure of the church, like mere worldly merchandize, should

be exposed to contempt; since good is not to be done that evil may follow. The commissary, however, may settle such matters.* Simple

* In page 52 of the "Venality" is quoted the passage from the second part of the Taxæ as found in the Parisian edition of 1520. Et nota diligenter quòd hujusmodi gratie et dispensationes non conceduntur pauperibus quia non sunt ideo non possunt consolari. One not initiated in papal proceedings might be staggered, and made somewhat incredulous by the unfeeling grossness of this phraseology; but a little experience would immediately set him right. What stands above is in complete harmony with it. There is likewise a passage in Bp. Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery*, part I., ch. ii., sect. v., near the end, page 94, of the 4th edition in 1668, which is exactly to the same purpose. The bishop had just referred to the Parisian Taxæ; and he asserts of them, that their impiety "is visible by that which *Augustinus de Ancona* (de Potest. Papæ [ecclesiastica ?] qu. 3, art. 3) teaches—'that the pope ought not [so much] to give Indulgences to them who have a desire of giving money, but cannot, as to those who actually give.' And whereas it may be objected, that then poor men's souls are in a worse condition than the rich, he answers, 'that as to the remission of the punishment acquired by the Indulgence, in such a case it is not inconvenient, that the rich should be in a better condition than the poor.' For in that manner do they imitate God, who is no respecter of persons."

The Bishop should have acknowledged, that for the whole of this he was indebted to Rivet in his *Jesuita Vapulans*, cap. x., § 3—6. Opp. iii., p. 526.

We may as well have the original of Augustinus, as Rivet has given it.—*Papam non debere dare indulgentiam iis qui habent voluntatem dandi, sed non possunt, quemadmodum dantibus.* Et ad objectionem, *pauperes qui non habent fore prejoris conditionis quam divites*, respondet, *quantum ad remissionem pœnæ quæ acquiritur per indulgentiam; in tali casu non esse inconveniens quod dives sit melioris conditionis quam pauper.*

folk are then informed, that the different faculties may be had separately by the payment of a *moderate tax* [additional, it should appear]. A Confessional may be obtained for an absent friend, who may be unconscious of the transaction; and it becomes valid on the receipt, provided he confess when he makes use of it: but those in purgatory are not bound to confession, nor visitation of churches—all that is necessary is, that the *tax* for them be paid into the chest. The closing announcement is, that believers who are desirous of the indulgences, &c. personally deposit their *alms* in the chest, whether

A curious statement to the same effect occurs in the Gravamina urged by George Duke of Saxony, a bigoted Romanist, at the Diet of Worms, 1521, and extracted by Seckendorf from the archives of Weimar, Comment. de Luth. Lib. I., § LXXXVIII., Add. III., p. 146. It is numbered IV., and is—Multa prohiberi, quæ postea datâ pecuniâ relaxantur: sic inopes damnari, qui in leges illas peccent, nec habeant quo pœnam redimant. The good prince really thought that the poor would suffer from the want of his church's dispensations. Of such venal commodities more, and worse appears in the VIth article.

The IId article of the celebrated Centum Gravamina in the next year, 1522, is as follows:—Nec minus interim gravamen, quod pauperis divitisq; longe diversa in relaxandis his constitutionibus sit conditio.

P. Lombard in his Sent. IV., Distinct. XLV., moves a similar question as to purgatory, and determines, that the auxilia of the church will give the same release to both, but to the rich the more expeditious—diviti *celeriorem* absolutionem, non pleniorem.

they be for the jubilee, or for commutation or relaxation of vows, &c. &c. *except* for the faculty of the *Confessional*, for which the *price* is to be given to the distributor of the Confessionals. The contributions which are *sent*, as well as those which are *personally presented*, are to be faithfully deposited in said chest; otherwise none of the indulgences will be granted [ratified].

"The clause follows.

Likewise we grant, that, if any one truly confessed, die in the journey, he is altogether absolved from all his sins. And moreover we command the angels of paradise, that, exempting his soul from purgatory, they introduce it to the glory of paradise."

In the preceding summary the principal subject is the benefit which the published Indulgences would convey to the souls of the departed in Purgatory. This indeed is not the exclusive subject, since the document contains many tempting benefits concerning the living; and we shall quickly see this more convincingly. But Purgatory certainly has the pre-eminence. Purgatory is one of the most lucrative discoveries of the Roman church. The *Campi Phlegræi* into which she has improved a doctrine

originating in the superstition, ignorance, and fear of man, has been made one of the most productive portions of her fictitious territory and jurisdiction. This extra-terrestrial region is far more extensive than that which is confined to the little spot which we inhabit, although peopled from it. It is absolutely without bounds. Whatever may be its locality, (and its creator may invent any,) its tenants compose, not simply one generation of human beings, but all the imperfect, not absolutely condemned, from the foundation of the world—excepting indeed those happy souls who by the means offered for sale by Rome have been liberated from the place of temporary torment. But whether the unhappy remainder be great or small; and whatever may be the uncertain number of those still to be extracted and paid for; these articles of secular profit are purely *additional*—they do not at all interfere with or diminish the proceeds from the *living* on their own account. The speculation with respect to *them* is left perfectly undamaged—hardly indeed affected. It may be doubted whether the two do not help each other. The same superstition which leads the living to apply for the treasures of St. Peter's successors *on their own*

behalf, will in common charity oblige them to communicate the spiritual boon to their friends and relatives in "the church's jail."*

Let us now come to the *Living*. *They* are not forgotten by their church, which in all ways, and with every varied round, aims to soothe their hearts, and fill her own treasury. The reader will please to recollect the *Confessionals*, of which so much is said, and the value of which is so much extolled, in the Summary just laid before him. These Confessionals are, not the seat, or tribunal, more or less guarded, in which the Romish Confessor sits to hear the confessions of his penitents, and give absolution; enjoining, at the same time, such, and so much, penance, as he may think proper. But they are certain forms, sometimes headed, *Forma Confessionalis*, conveying certain privileges to the purchasers, on a small sheet of vellum or paper, and containing, perhaps without exception, among other favours, the choice of a confessor with full power to absolve both in common and reserved cases. They obviously derive the name of Confessional from

* Cum etiam purgatorium non sit nisi carcer ecclesiæ. *Summaria*, where this is given as one ground of the pope's right to government of purgatory.

this principal circumstance.* It is impossible to deny the existence of these little important documents; and I am happy to have a pretty large number of the originals in my own possession. They are printed, and generally by known printers, as far as the type is an evidence. The number needed required the facility which printing supplies. A blank is left for the name, and particular date of the month, the year being generally printed. I shall present a *specimen or two* before I have done. Several of these Confessionals contain exemptions from Purgatory; and these being for the benefit of the living are, not for *others* and *retrospective*, as are indulgences for the departed, but *prospective*, and applicable to the living purchaser's self. This is an immense advantage in addition, particularly as security against purgatory is *equivalent* to a title to heaven. Several of my specimens have the appearance of having been used in the binding of books; and probably at the end of year, in those which had the annual date, and would thereby be spoiled for

* See a curious section about these Confessionals in the *Taxæ* of the Parisian edition of 1520, entitled *Confessionals*, Part C., or third, fol. xxxi., verso; or in Banck. p. 108, who nevertheless in his note on the word, pp. 328, 9, quite overlooks this plain sense of it.

their proper use, they were profitably enough applied to the purpose mentioned. In some cases the number of unused forms would be great, besides those which had been used, but from death and other circumstances would have become inapplicable. The reformation too would materially diminish the demand and employment. The plunder and dispersion of the monastic libraries on the continent during the late war has brought a large store of old books into public possession.

The two earliest specimens in my collection are of the date 1480, and under the pontificate of Sixtus IV., issued by Lucas, Bishop of Sebenico, *(Sibenicensis,*)* Commissary and Legate de Latere, and with papal authority. One of them is remarkable as intended for those who could not attend personally, but who conveyed their contribution to the chest *(capsa)* together with any uncertain property which should have been restored, *(si per te aliqua incerta restituenda forent)*. I describe these no further, as they generally agree with the forms, of which I intend to give some specimens.

The two next which I have belong to the year 1480 and 1481, and the Commissary is Frater

* In Dalmatia.

Johannes de Cardona, bailiff of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. The indulgence is for affording assistance to the island of Rhodes against the perfidious Turks.* The earlier one is remarkable for having been actually *purchased* by pay-

* The *perfidious Turks*, sometimes called *perfidissimi* and *rhabidi*, had once at least the opportunity of retorting the compliment on their accusers. The holy see espoused the cause of the Hungarians against the Turks about the middle of the fifteenth century. The former were victorious in one battle, but agreed to a truce of ten years, which on both sides was confirmed by an oath solemnized according to the religious rites of each nation. Cardinal Julian, legate to the Hungarian court, an active politician, who had presided at the council of Basil, was much troubled at the truce; and much more his master, Eugenius IV., who accordingly wrote to the legate, that no treaty made with the enemies of religion without his consent was valid—*nullum valere fœdus quod se inconsulto cum hostibus religionis percussum esset.* He moreover commanded Uladislaus King of Poland, who then occupied Hungary, to dissolve the treaty, and annulled the oaths—*Juramenta remisit.* The event of the consequent battle was such as pontifical perfidy deserved. Amurath was conqueror, and the legate was among the slain, not by the Turks whom he had escaped, but by the *perfidious* Hungarians, his friends, his Christians—*Hungariorum perfidiam evadere non potuit.* Æn. Silv. de Europa, cap. v., Opp. Basil. 1571, pp. 397, 8. See likewise his Epistles, Ep. lxxxi., p. 565. It is a remarkable feature, that in this place the future Pius II. talks of *ours fighting for the faith and the Turks for perfidy*, (meaning however their false religion). After mentioning the reverse he moralizes a little, and observes, *that the event demonstrated oaths are to be kept, not only with those of the true faith, but even with its enemies*——Juramentaq; non solum domesticis fidei, sed etiam hostibus servanda demonstrant. This sentiment, however, he probably meant to include in his tardy recantation-*letter*—not *bull*.

ment of the prescribed *taxa*, by *Barbara Shaylebrun, Die* 14 *Mensis Maii*, as filled up in MS. and being intitled *Forma Confessionalis*.*

Another of these Indulgences is a *bull* or *breve* of Sixtus IV. for the repair of the church of Aichstat in Franconia, in which there is nothing varying from the common form, except the distinct mention of the *capsa, archa,* or *cista,* in which were to be placed the contributions *in pecunia numerata aut rebus equivalentibus,* and thirty years' relaxation of penance. The *distinction* between relaxation of penance, and pardon or remission of all sins, however enormous, was well understood and observed at the time. This document is imperfect at the end; and therefore I cannot fix its date *more precisely.*

We now come to the year 1488, and a new pontiff, Innocent VIII. And here the reader must be detained a little; for now our acquaintance Raymond appears; and of his diligence in his office I have seven separate specimens and proofs. Two of them have been *used,* and

* These four indulgences have, added at the end, Et nota quod in mortis articulo adjungenda est hec clausula, Si tamen ab ista egritudine non decesseris plenariam remissionem et indulgentiam tibi eadem auctoritate in mortis articulo conferandam reservo. In nomine patris etc. I observe this the rather because it is wanting in all the following—*why,* I cannot tell. Perhaps it was merely thought superfluous.

the profits gone to their destination, whether to the building or repairing a church, or enabling a cardinal, or other person to obtain any particular gratification. I am not more uncharitable than a good catholic monk, who might wish nothing but reformation and good to his church.* I shall transcribe one of these two.

Universis presentes literas inspecturis Raymundus Peraudi, sacre pagine professor, Archidiaconus Alnisiensis, in ecclesia Xanctonensi sedis apostolice prothonotarius, ad almaniam universaq; et singula provincias civitates terras et loca germanie Sacro Romano imperio principibusq; electoribusq; ac subditis ubilibet subjectis, Orator, nuncius et commissarius apostolicus salutem. Notum facimus quatenus sanctissimus dominus noster Innocentius papa octavus et modernus cunctis utriusq; sexus christifidelibus pro tuitione orthodoxe fidei contra thurcos juxta ordinationem nostram manus adjutrices porrigentibus ultra Jubileum et alias indulgentias gratias facultates quas supradicti christifideles obtinere possunt visitando ecclesias per nos aut per commissarios nostros deputandas, ac si visitassent ecclesias urbis tempora Jubilei prout in bullis apostolicis desuper confectis plenius continetur, possint eligere confessorem idoneum secularem vel regularem qui eos vita comite ab om-

* See Note before, p. 9.

nibus excessibus et delictis* preterquam sedi apostolice reservatis totiens quotiens opus fuerit absolvere possit. Et insuper totiens quotiens ad talem statum devenerint ut verisimiliter de eorum morte dubitetur, etiamsi tunc eos ab hac luce decedere non contingat, atq; in vero mortis articulo plenariam omnium suorum peccatorum remissionem eis valeat impartiri de sue plenitudine potestatis facultatem concessit. Voluítq; idem sanctissimus dns noster motu proprio omnes et singulos hujusmodi benefactores atq; eorum parentes defunctos et eorum benefactores qui cum caritate decesserunt in omnibus precibus, suffragiis, missis, elemosinis, jejuniis, orationibus, disciplinis, et ceteris omnibus spiritualibus bonis que fiunt et fieri poterunt in tota universali sacrosancta christi ecclesia militante et omnibus membris ejusdem in perpetuum participes fieri. Cum itaque devot*us* in christo *Dns Johannes de Vorda monachus Ordinis sancti bndicti* ad ipsius fidei piam subventionem et defensionem juxta summi pontificis intentionem et nostram ordinatio-

* These words are immediately followed by the additional ones—quantumcunq ; gravibus et enormibus—in the first four indulgences here noticed, either in the body of them, or the Form of Absolution, or in both ; and likewise in most other documents of the same description, particularly the Jubilee Indulgences up to the present time. Why Raymond, or his Holiness, has uniformly, as far as I am enabled to examine, omitted them, is not easy of explanation. Perhaps he thought they might make the faithful *procliviores ad peccandum*, or that they were profitably exchanged for the boon of liberation from purgatory, which he seems to have introduced.

nem prout per presentes literas sibi in hujusmodi testimonium a nobis traditas approbamus de suis bonis contulerit ejusdem auctoritate pontificis sibi ut indulgentia pro predicta tuitione fidei concessa quo ad in superioribus contenta uti et gaudere valeat, merito constat esse concessum. Datum sub sigillo nostro ad hoc ordinato. Die *xxi.* Mensis *Aprilis* Anno dni M.cccc.lxxxviii.

Forma absolutionis in vita totiens quotiens.

Misereatur tui Dns noster ihesus christus per meritum sue passionis te absolvat, auctoritate cujus et apostolica michi in hac parte commissa et tibi concessa ego te absolvo ab omnibus peccatis tuis. In nomine p. et fi. et ss. Amen.

Forma absolutionis et plenarie remissionis in vero mortis articulo vel verisimili.

Misereatur tui, &c. Dns noster ihesus christus per meritum sue passionis te absolvat: et ego auctoritate ipsius et apostolica michi in hac parte commissa et tibi concessa te absolvo.—Primo ab omni sententia excommunicationis majoris et minoris si quam incurristi—Deinde ab omnibus peccatis tuis contritis confessis et oblitis, conferendo tibi plenariam omnium peccatorum tuorum remissionem, remittendo tibi penas purgatorii. In nomine patris et filii et spus sancti. Amen.

[*Printed Seal.*]*

* A facsimile of the above accompanies this volume.

The reader should particularly notice the concluding absolution from *the pains of purgatory;* and the *absolute form* of it. A variation was made in a subsequent year in the last particular.

The other confessional made use of, and which is nearly, not quite, identical with that just given, puzzles me as to the MS. inserted. It is of a *devota,* therefore a lady whose name appears to be — — — *Regelman de terna regula sti francisci.* The date is Die *quinta* Mensis *Aprilis* 1488. It is in the type of Peter Schoiffer, It ends with the remission of the purgatorial pains.

It is in a form by the same commissary, Raymund, in the year 1490, and still under the same pontificate, that the variation just referred to occurs, as far as I am able to judge, for the first time; and at the close, after remitting the pains of purgatory, the document proceeds—*in quantum claves sancte matris ecclesie se extendunt.* This is withdrawing a claim with a witness! This is an act of humiliation, such as is rarely exhibited by the most moderate pretender! And was Rome, and its spiritual sovereign, so browbeaten by the *admirers* and *murmurers* against his pretensions! Did

he not recover himself, and re-assert his purgatorial authority? We are enabled to answer this question; for, in another document of the same description, and under a succeeding pope, not much disposed to make concessions, or continue them, if made, Alexander VI., 1502, Raymond yet holding his employment of commissary, and advanced by his master to the cardinalate of Gurck, we find the same, certainly very safe, but likewise very recreant, limitation. His commission embraced the northern part of Europe; and it is a curious circumstance, that Denmark, or Dania, is uniformly in this and similar documents, and even others of the same class in the same age, written Dacia, without any possible reference to the country properly so called.

I just notice a breve of Leo. X., issued in 1515 in behalf of the Dominican monastery at Augsburg, to raise a fund by indulgences for the repair of their church. It is directed to the prior, and dated Rome, Feb. 1, 1515; and is somewhat remarkable, as naming the celebrated Arcimboldo, the papal nuncio, who was then employed in collecting by the same inducements the monies necessary for the completion of St. Peter's cathedral in Rome. It likewise

recognises in a few words the manner in which Indulgences were formally published—*cum signo solito affixionis crucis et trunci seu capse in locis publicationis.* Great ceremony was used on such occasions, in order to strike the populace; and a cross of some material was prodigally exhibited and applied, to rouse the feelings of devotion to the pitch required for extracting the desired munificence.*

I now give, and conclude with, a similar but rather varying document. It is an indulgence, which the heads of the order of Hermits of St. John the Baptist at Viterbo were authorised to impart to those who entered their house.

Universis presentes literas inspecturis salutem in Domino: Nos fratres ordinis Heremitarum sancti Joannis Baptiste de claustro Viterbii, partium Italie, notum facimus, quod Anno a Cristo nato supra Quingentissimo vigesimo Die Mensis
recipimus cum fratribus et sororibus nostris chartis

* I apprehend, that the prominent employment of the cross on these occasions explains the phrase and argument of Aquinas in the Summaria, where he supports the application of Indulgences to the tenants of purgatory by the sentence of *Crux datur pro tribus animabus*, &c. The strange, but consistent, *Summaria Instructio* of Tetzel in Von der Hardt's *Hist. Ref.* Part IV., c. III., and to be found in Amort on Indulgences, confirms this view.

insertis in confraternitate nostra in perpetuum, secundum ostensionem litterarum et Bullarum Apostolicarum. Ulterius damus et concedimus plenariam potestatem predictis sequentibus tenorem prenominate fraternitatis pro suis personis, ut possint eligere confessorem idoneum, qui ipsos absolvere possit in omnibus casibus etiam sedi apostolice reservatis (demptis duntaxat vota [sic] castitatis, et ecclesiarum incendiis) semel in vita, et in mortis articulo a pena et culpa totiens quotiens casus contigerit. Datum actum die et anno quo supra teste sigillo nostro apposito.

¶ Forma absolutionis et plenissime remissionis.

Misereatur tu tc. Dominus noster Jesus Cristus, per merita sue passionis te absolvat. Et ego auctoritate ipsius et apostolica mihi in hac parte commissa et tibi concessa, te absolvo: primo ab omni sententia excommunicationis majoris vel minoris, si quam incurristi, deinde ab omnibus peccatis tuis illis duobus exceptis, conferendo tibi plenissimam omnium peccatorum remissionem. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen.

In the *Life of Tetzel* by Hecht are to be found several other forms by Raymond, in the years 1489, 1500, and 1502, pretty closely agreeing in matter and phraseology with the specimens just exhibited. He has likewise, and of course, the celebrated and important Indulgence of Albert, Archbishop of Magde-

burg and Mentz in 1517. Amort also contains abundance of similar forms; and both the Harleian and Cottonian collections in the British Museum are rich in originals.

Now it will be readily admitted, that these billets of vellum, parchment, or paper, generally about the size of an octavo page printed longitudinally, contain an assemblage of no uninviting spiritual dainties. Pretty universally we have—a full pardon and remission of sin—all sin—the gravest and most enormous sins—an elected confessor to make things as sure as possible—in cases of emergency, when absolution may not be regularly attainable, the application of the indulgence in its full virtues at the point of death, *in articulo mortis*—and, lest *that* should not take place, an adjourned efficacy is given to it, as often as required, *totiens quotiens*—likewise the possessor attains the portentous addition to his treasures, that it will secure him, living, from future purgatory, (a claim afterwards sufficiently guarded, but still absolutely asserted at the time by the donor)—and in one instance remission from guilt as well as from punishment, *a pœna et culpa.*

Now how are these swelling words, these enormous pretensions, *to be understood?* How were they *intended* to be understood? How

were they understood? Men in general, (and in all ages they have been pretty nearly the same), do not readily part with their money without value received. It does not appear, that the bills under consideration gave a title to worldly wealth or effects of any description. Some indeed of the larger description, Jubilee and other bulls, and the Spanish cruzada, imparted relaxation of penance—a pure nullity and mockery, after the discipline of penance was abandoned for good; and those who granted the relaxation knew well enough how essentially it was distinguished from remission of sins, full, fuller, and fullest. They likewise released from the obligation of fasting, and allowed various interdicted foods. But even of such things there is nothing here. And yet, how freely did the easy cattle—they were hardly treated as better, though rational—let down their pecuniary milk into the pails of the pope and his commissaries! What contributions were raised by this spiritual traffic! Churches were built and repaired, hospitals and bridges erected, vast armies raised and paid, and the coffers of favoured individuals filled, by them. The pages of Raynaldus* inform us, that in 1500 Germany

* Annales, A.D. 1500, § xx.

was to have been visited by our friend, Raymond, then Cardinal of Gurck—but he was anticipated by the King of Poland, who managed with the apostolic internuncio to get the jubilee for himself, the amount of which was 300,000 florins.

The question then is, by what consideration of the nature and value of the articles which they received were the good catholics, of the close of the fifteenth, or beginning of the next century, induced to make the very serious pecuniary sacrifices, which the mere continuance of the measure or traffic proves they did? They certainly considered these articles as *spiritual*, and these spiritual articles as *highly valuable*, if not indispensable. What, in fact, could they understand by the very terms, terms never qualified or softened in any one way which would come to their knowledge, and enable them to profit; though doubtless the authors and agents knew well enough, that they were simple impositions, and of no value in any sense. But what could the deluded understand by the terms? unless they meant to throw the charge of consummate knavery in the faces of those to whom they felt themselves in conscience bound to pay unlimited reverence and obedience.

To anticipate a little, (for we shall come in time to the evasions attempted on this subject,) papal advocates (although, with the terms actually under their eyes, they will not deny that they signify something spiritual,) still contend, that they are *not properly* to be understood as they are generally, and according to common grammar and usage, understood. They probably can find, in different writings or documents instances of a peculiar and unusual application of the words or phrases in dispute; and they assume the liberty, as if it were a right, of interpreting those words or phrases—not whereever they occur, such extravagance would ruin their credit, being at the same time of no use in many cases, but—where the peculiarity of their creed or cause precisely stands in need of such help—the *dignus vindice nodus.* This is a canon of criticism, which the disciples of the bishop of Rome and the disciples of Socinus hold and employ in common. And they both almost equally need it. They have, both, to get rid of scripture and common sense: and this rule enables them to do it effectually. By the application of this omnipotent engine, "the works of the *flesh*" may be commended because "a heart of *flesh*" is used to express the

sensibilities of religion; and *vice versa*, the latter may be condemned because the former is condemned. So we have the terms "iniquity" and "punishment" *sometimes* interchanged synecdochically; and we have "dead" connected with "in sin" and "to sin;" and on the contrary, "alive," "I was alive without the law once," or formerly, and "alive to God." Where there are *other* reasons for the peculiar interpretation of a term or terms let them be weighed, and admitted, as they may deserve: but let us never hear of the *arbitrary* use of such instruments, simply because an individual or his cause may need it. We shall find enough to prove, that such instruments are null or of no application in the question before us; and that even if they had any force it would be overwhelmed by opponent proof.

Amort has been introduced to the reader. He is no freshman or novice: nor is he deficient in good wishes to vindicate his church, and do her his best services. He is moreover a man of integrity than the great majority of his Romanists. Now he has undertaken in the 2nd Part of his *History of Indulgences*, and onwards, to support the Thesis, tail to the deceased only by

way of Deprecation. His argument is, that blessings of so high value as plenary indulgences for the dead could never in justice have been granted on such light and insufficient conditions as those generally prescribed and accepted —*alligare ex debito justitiæ tam levibus conditionibus*—unless the moving cause were deprecation. I adduce this as a proof of the high value set upon the papal Indulgences, and a proof therefore, that they must be spiritual, and of course, literally understood. Again; let the reader advert for a moment to the high flown commendations with which at the last Jubilee in 1825, Leo XII. announces the treasures which he offers to his peculiar people. Here is "the most plenary and complete indulgence, remission, and pardon of all their sins, to all the faithful in Christ, of both sexes, who are truly penitent," &c. His holiness had learnt a little caution from the intermission of the last jubilee, and the peculiar aspect of public affairs; and therefore, when he touches particulars, he instances only remission of canonical penance, (a pure mockery,) remission of the temporal punishment due after absolution, and the benefit to departed souls suffering in purgatorial fire; allowing the important boon of a fit and select-

ed confessor with unlimited powers of absolution to pass without any mention. But who, on viewing such representations, and reflecting upon the high quarter from which they come, will believe, that the indulgential pardons have *no reference to sin?*

The special pleaders of the Vatican are apt to make something of a stand as to the word *culpa,* frequently occurring in the remissions of their church connected with *pœna—a pœna et culpa.* The fact is too plain to be denied; and the defence generally set up is, either that the document in which the objectionable clause appears is spurious—some go so far as to say, for that very and single reason—or that it must be favourably interpreted in some way. Both these methods, to say the best of them, are *prima facie* suspicious. A very liberal and well meaning Frenchman,* who wished to purify the augean stable of his church as far as he could, in respect of various superstitions accruing to her seven sacraments, *Traitè,* &c. Liv. VII. ch. XIV., which continues the subject of Indulgences, bears ample, although plainly reluctant, testimony to the fact. His first excusatory allegation is, that the council of Constance provided, that in future the pope should

* J. B. Thiers.

abstain from too much prodigality in indulgences, and that he should revoke those remissions which were denominated *de pœna et culpa*— plainly however recognizing them as facts. Silvester, he quotes, as saying that the plenary indulgence is commonly *(vulgariter)* called *de culpa et pœna.* From Vivaldus he cites the question, how what is *commonly* called *absolutio a culpa et pœna* is to be understood. And the gloss on the Extravagant *Antiquorum* of the Canon law he explodes, because it contains the double indulgence, *culpâ, videlicet et pœnâ.* All this, of itself, proves plainly enough the existence of the clause in pontifical indulgences. But there is no necessity for relying upon such admissions. When Roman performances were not looked after as they are now, there was no restraint or scruple on this score. A Constitution of Pius IV. is quoted by Amort,* in which the pontiff says, *ut anima indulgentiam plenariam a pœna et culpa, quantum divinæ Majestati placuerit, consequatur, concedimus.* Clement X., so late as the year 1675, a Jubilee year, in a Breve of Indulgences in favour of the Archconfraternity *Cincturatorum et Cincturatarum* recites from an Indult of Gregory XIII.

* *Hist. Indulg.* p. 416.

a merciful relaxation, or release, *à pœna et à culpa.** We come still later to the Extension of the Universal Jubilee in 1775, the last but one, celebrated under Pius VI.; and at p. 5, Roman edition, his holiness declares that the sum of the Jubilee is, that the penitent faithful, in the first place, *ex Clavium potestate a culpa penitus liberentur*, and are finally absolved from obligation to punishment—*pœnæ reatu absolvantur*. Now we may give full credit to the laudable indignation of intelligent Romanists on this subject, and quite believe, as they declare, that no being on earth has the power to annul the *guilt* of sin. But if they are honest, why do they not repudiate the pretensions and acts of their church through and through? Why, if they reject this, do they retain the rest? But what superfluous and bootless prudery is all this! If they contend, or allow, that their church can remit the *punishment*, they secure the whole, and are answerable for the whole, under another name. Let them consult any individual concerned, any guilty person, and ask, whether he is not completely satisfied, that his church guarantees him from punishment, let whatever will be

* Magnum Bullar. Luxemb. 1730, Tom. X., p. 208.

the case as to the guilt. The *guilt* in that case is but a name; and he cares not who has the disposal of it.* So that the affected scrupulosity upon the subject amounts to nothing more than an exhibition, and an effort to keep up a character in protestant, or anti-papal society. I shall have something more to say upon this topic.

On the subject of elongated, centenary and millenary pardons it would occupy too much space to enlarge, as the subject admits, and even requires. In various portions of different works before the public I have detailed incontrovertible facts in proof of the affirmative. Nor can I regard as otherwise than most dishonourable disingenuousness, (to use no harsher designation,) the attempt made by some eminent Romanists and their friends, secret or open, to throw any doubt upon it. The seven churches of Rome; the guides to the pilgrims visiting them; the Mirabilia; the particular monuments extant or recorded; *that* most remarkable one still, in a mutilated state, existing in St. Michael's church, Macclesfield; the va-

* Christ himself has represented the remission of the punishment as greater than that of the guilt, at least in the way of evidence. See Luke V., 18—26—"whether is *easier* to say, &c.: "but *that ye may know*," &c.

rious *Horæ* B. M. V., particularly that of Sarum in the two editions of 1526 and 1527—are burning evidences of this species of profligate merchandise and seduction carried on by the scarlet prostitute of the seven-hilled city. These same *Horæ* I have of the date 1527; and the book is now open before me. I have well examined it. It is very nearly, perhaps perfectly, the same as that of 1526, from which Bp. Burnet has made his extracts in his *History of the Reformation*, Part II., Book i., Records, No. 26, except that my copy has 14 additional folia at the beginning, which, of course, are to be added to the number of the folia in mine, in any identification of the matter in the two editions. These Horæ were, upon the face of them, authentic books of the time, and in the church at the time—that is, in England. And it would be more than a matter of mere curiosity for any person, even a Romanist in an occasional fit of ingenuousness, on looking over the originals or any copious extracts, to answer the question, whether he can believe it possible, that works of such a description could be composed, issued, or sanctioned by any protestant church, or any church but their own. There is a heading to a prayer to "saint Anna, Maria, and Jesus,"

at fol. xciii., in English, as all of them are, which I am tempted to transcribe, as I have no doubt it belongs to the individual who has exhibited so prominent a front in these pages. One main proof is, that it is preceded by a similar grant from Alexander VI., to whom he owed his cardinalate, and it is quite in harmony with his craft. Here it is. "Another devout prayer to be sayde before the ymage of saint Anna Maria Jesus: of the whyche Raymundus the cardinall legate hath graunted a C. days of pardon totiens quotiens."* Clement Xth's constitution, which has been just referred to, recites and confirms three separate grants of a *Thousand years' pardon*; and this, be it remembered, was in the year 1675. Were it not

* The Indulgence of Alexander may as well be given, for it is somewhat like him—"Alexander the vi. pope of Rome hath graunted to all them that saye thys prayer devoutly in the worshyp of sainte anna our lady and her son Jesus. x. M. yers of pardon for deadly synnes &. xx. yers for venyall synnes totiens quotiens."—Another from that choice link in the pontifical succession, John XII.,—"These iii prayers be wrytten in the chapell of the holy crosse in rome otherwyse called sacellum scte crucis septem romanorum who that devoutly say them they shall obteyne x. c. m. yers of pardon for deedly synnes graunted of oure holy father. Ihon. xxii. pope of Rome." Fol. lxxx. Here we have a *Million* years, and inscribed on a tablet in a chapel in the eternal city. Is it there now? Its existence, however, is attested by good catholic authority.

for what our calumniated reformers, instrumentally, have done, and of which they have left to us the inheritance, the same yoke of base and barbarous superstition might still remain bound upon our necks; and with the more certainty and force from not having felt the previous check actually given.

The preceding *Indulgences*, although bearing the name, have not strictly confined themselves within their proper limits, but frequently overstep them and get into the province of *sacramental absolutions*, of which Romanists themselves make no question, that they are proper remissions of the guilt as well as punishment of sin—they are the church's delegated release *a pœna et culpa*. This is particularly and eminently the case with respect to those broadside indulgences the Confessionalia, upon which so much attention has been spent in these pages, and which, as their most seductive boon, impart the privilege of chusing a confessor entrusted with extraordinary, and indeed unlimited, (except where otherwise expressed,) absolutional power. No apprehension is left as to even the most enormous crimes, nor those reserved to the superiors and the head of the Roman church.

It is now no irregular advance to the genuine absolutions* of the Roman church, which properly and indisputably *have to do with sin*, and profess to expiate or annul it. But I am concerned with such monuments of pontifical pretensions, no farther than as they are connected with *pecuniary matter*, and constitute, if not the main, the most flagitious part of the Spiritual Venality of Rome, whether her church or

* It is a curious fact, of which I was not aware, or I should have introduced it into the "Venality," that the papal prerogative of granting absolutions was derived from the imperial one of Rome: and I am indebted for it to the very valuable *Vestiges of antient Manners in Italy and Sicily.* Suetonius, as Mr. Blunt observes, writes of Vespasian, that among other indecent plans of raising revenue he resorted to that of selling absolutions, or pardons: nec reis, tam innoxiis quam nocentibus, absolutiones cunctatus est. "Since the pope," proceeds our author, "has confessedly adopted some practices of his imperial predecessors, those *pontifices maximi* whose title he inherits, such, for instance, as that of offering his foot for salutation, which was first done by Diocletian, is it not possible, that he may also have followed so tempting an example in his fiscal arrangements, and have thus granted to spiritual offenders, as a spiritual prince, that release from punishment, which it seems was before accorded to temporal offenders by a temporal prince?" Pp. 190, 1. The excellent writer will see by the *Prohibitory Roman Index* of 1835 that all his caution has not availed to save his book from a place in the black book. The *language* might have secured it, had not the *subject* come too near his holiness's home. Absolutions and Indulgences are so closely allied, and so frequently run into one another's province, that the same things are usually predicable of both or either. Each yields its revenue as it may happen.

court, or both together; for they are as inseparable, to all moral intents and purposes, as the archbishop of Cologne and the duke of Cologne, in the familiar anecdote.* And here happily I feel myself relieved of any other necessity than that of referring to what I have already written in my *Spiritual Venality of Rome.* Yet it may be expedient to add something on so suitable an occasion. The keystone of the whole structure is the *Table of Taxes* connected with various crimes, disabilities, privileges, &c. or particularly the *Taxe Penitentiarie* subjoined to the work. These are almost in verbal accordance with several *reprinted copies*—that of Paris in 1520, and those of Venice and other places. Now in cases of strong interest, especially where it is identified with the repulsion of a disgraceful charge, *doubt* is a very promising speculation; and is therefore frequently resorted to by the accused party—not necessarily with any specific ground for the doubt, but with the vague hope, that the proper and sufficient reply, although existing, may by accident not be producible by the

* See the story from Fulgosius in [Sir John Hayward's] *Reporte of a Discourse concerning Supreme Power in Affaires of Religion*, 1606, pp. 50, 51.

accuser. I am not aware that the evidence, with which I have accompanied the particular documents alluded to, lie open to any suspicion of the kind just mentioned, or have any thing to fear from their authenticity being called in question. That sophistry may invent something which is specious, I am not at all disposed to deny: but I can imagine nothing even of that description which can be opposed to the Roman and Parisian Taxæ, except that they are not published with all the formality and open exhibition of responsibility which is used in ordinary productions of the press, and which I will readily allow is desirable. But it is rather too much to require that works of darkness, as those in question eminently are, should make their appearance with all the transparency which characterises and adorns the works of light. Such a sentiment may be thrown out at a venture, as a trap for simplicity and good nature; but it is calculated to no other end, when it succeeds, than to give to guilt every unjust advantage which it can expect, or almost desire.

I confine myself to the *particular Taxæ which are specified;* not that I think the others, I mean those contained in the Centum Gravamina for substance, Musculus, Du Pinet, and others,

deficient in authenticity; but the first I consider as possessing it in the highest and most indisputable degree. They are catalogued and described by Roman bibliographers* without the slightest suspicion cast upon them; and they have been repeated by papal editors as authentic productions, precisely and in all respects meaning what they purport to mean in ordinary acceptation. The earliest editions appear indeed without any expressed authentication. They are, I believe generally, as mine is, a quaternio, and with every appearance of being intended for *private use*. This is confirmed by their *occasional* union in binding with the *Regulæ*—rather innocent things of a similar class. But all these, judging from what I have seen, or obtained an account of, are represented in the Parisian edition of 1520, and others.

The Parisian edition is described bibliographically in the "Venality," pp. 28, and following, and pp. 50, and following. It would betray an attempt to gain an advantage in a dishonourable way, and not a very promising one, to ask, whether this edition bore upon its front the formal

* I refer particularly to the eminent dominican Audiffredi, in his *Catal. Edd. Rom.*: the unfinished *Specimen Edd. Ital.* has, I believe, no notice of any of the Taxæ.

attestation of *Permissu Superiorum.* The publication indeed defied the face of day more than it should; but it observed too somewhat of the secrecy of shame. If however it cannot boast the honour of *Permissu Superiorum,* it has that of *Cum privilegio in triennium,* which is *something,* under the kind of supervision of the press, which generally, and particularly in France, prevailed at the time. Further, and not to insist upon the substantial support which is supplied by the Centum Gravamina at the Diet of Nuremburg, 1522, the republication verbatim of the whole, that is the four parts, *including the Penitentiary Taxes as one of them,* in the *Oceanus Juris* of Venice, is a confirmation, which of itself would be irresistible to any mind, but one which has its reasons for desiring error. I refer to the edition of 1584, which I have examined with my own eyes. Here is a magnificent national work, published for at least the second time, if Marchand and his authorities be right, consisting of eighteen thick folio volumes, embracing the whole body of general and particular Laws; and this work claims and publishes, in the very title, the pontiff, Gregory XIII., as its precursor and patron, *Duce et Auspice Greg. XIII.* And the fifteenth of these

volumes contains *entire* the above-mentioned *Taxæ*. I wish the reader to pause, and weigh the decisiveness and gravity of this testimony. It is evidently of the highest and most unimpeachable public character; and of all men in the world those who profess supreme spiritual allegiance to the Roman see are the last who, in the present instance, should shuffle, and hesitate to accept the virtual decision of their great oracle. If his authority had been unjustly or offensively claimed, it was quite competent to him, and it became his duty, both on a public and a private account, to signify his dissent in a direct and authoritative manner. This he has not done, nor, we believe, wished to do. If his present successor of the same name, and with no less ambition and policy than one still older of the same name, or his real subjects in this kingdom, had a voice, they would doubtless stick at nothing—hesitate at no disavowal to break every link of connexion with the awfully self-condemning and self-injuring documents: but the stigma of self-interest would be so palpably impressed upon their disavowal, that it would only serve in ordinary estimation to fix the responsibility more inextricably and heavily upon them.

Another witness to the authenticity of the

Penitential Taxæ—for with them we are most concerned—is the *silence of the Prohibitory Indexes of Rome respecting them.* In the "Venality," I have shewn that there is not one reference—much less condemnation—to the *genuine Taxæ*, that is, the Roman, or Papal. There are indeed one or two smuggled and unintelligible items respecting certain *heretical* editions of such books; but none whatever, no not one, respecting the Church of Rome's *own*. The Roman authorities doubtless hoped, and perhaps believed, that what they supposed to be, and continue, *non-apparent*, might be considered and treated as *non-existent*; and that therefore their dear innocent church was quite secure from the charge of having put forth any thing which the ill-disposed might represent as calculated to encourage laxity of morals, or make even the faithful *procliviores ad peccandum.** These good people reckoned without their host; and as the cancelled productions under consideration have got into light, much against their authors' intentions, it has become incumbent upon the existing descendants of the papal church in some way or

* A thought which their officious imagination has often suggested to them on such occasions.

other to account for them. The heretics are willing enough to own *their own* progeny; they never denied it; but of the other and very distinct progeny, paternity, instead of being claimed, will not even be acknowledged, where paternity is morally demonstrable. *There* stands the poor abandoned race—they are absolute *autochthones, terræ filii,* for any pity that their real and unnatural parents will take on them. What does all this amount to, but that the reputed fathers are the real?

It is necessary, in order to carry on the proof, to advert to the most decisive evidence of *Claude d'Espense,* which, if it stood alone, would be sufficient, and more than sufficient. His testimony, which is given in detail in the "Venality," pp. 76, and following, is most precise and conclusive: there is no evading it. His catholicity, in Rome's sense, was unimpeachable. His knowledge on the subject was complete. He attests his own, *his personal* information. And perhaps the most formidable charge which Rome ever had to encounter was that of the prompter of the Cardinal of Lorraine at the Colloquy of Poissy, grounded simply, expressly, and exclusively, on the edition of the Taxæ

Pœnitentiariæ, whose authority and authenticity I am attempting to support.*

There is *another* testimony of the same description, and equally respectable as well as decisive—it is that of *Richer*, another French Romanist, in his *Hist. Concil. Gen.* lib. IV., part. alt. Col. 1681, where, in pages 97—106, he quotes the *Digressio* of d'Espense at length; and preparing for the introduction of the passage relating to the infamous Taxæ, says of the Roman court, (the church is its consort,) that

* I will here add something to what I have before written, "Venality" 76, 77, respecting this eminent individual. Dupin records of him, that by his last will he desired the Cardinal of Lorraine to cause his books to be published. This was done by Genebrard, who gave an edition of the entire works of D'Espense, whom he entitles "*Clariss.*," at Paris in 1619. There is no formal preface, but the Regius Professor of Hebrew gives an extract from his own Chron. saying, that his author was most aliene from the extravagances of heretics, that at the colloquy of Poissy he disputed most holily and learnedly, and that he rather merited, than obtained a cardinal's hat—Galeri decus potius meritus quàm adeptus. The extract immediately following—ex Elogiis Scævolæ Sammarthani—attributes his failure to envy, and commends him for his erudition and subtlety. This writer was one of the very learned and celebrated family of Sainte-Marthe. The Epitaph which follows is still more laudatory. If more testimony to the papal orthodoxy of D'Espense be required, some may be found in Letters of his inserted in Raynaldus's Annal. Eccles. under the year 1561, § xci. and c., or in Mansi's edition, tom. xv., pp. 175—180, and 185, 6. It is but justice to Genebrand to say, that his edition of D'Espense is a very *honest* one.

to her—*instar messis aureæ sunt hominum peccata, ut taxa Cancellaria declarat*—the crimes of men were her harvest. Immediately before introducing the quotation he charges the same court with the insatiable conversion of every abuse to her own advantage—*cujus rei testis est locupletissimus nullâque ratione refutandus aut improbandus* Liber Taxæ Cancellariæ Romanæ. The good catholic kept some terms with the head of his church, or the assumed centre of unity, by speaking only of the *court* and *the chancery*. His testimony is satisfactory enough nevertheless.

A fair jury will hardly require more or better evidence whereon to form its verdict.

But there is a compendious way of getting rid of all this, and of every thing else; and it is centred in the single word, *Technicality*. There is a *lawful* use of the word; and there is *another*, by which it may make any word signify, or not signify, any thing. However, the subject deserves some patient consideration, because we are likely in the present, and probably continuing state of things, to have a good deal of it, if not in words, in reality. This invention in the polemical tactics of Rome, at least the

formal application of it,* is to be ascribed to a Reviewer in the Dublin Review, No. IX., to whom was entrusted the task, which the presumed Infallible feels to be rather urgent, of vindicating her from the charge of intolerance against scientific truth by the condemnation of Galileo Galilei for his published opinions respecting the solar system, or, otherwise, the Copernican system, which is now, and has long been, adopted by the whole republic of science. This doctrine, however, by her Inquisition she had formerly pronounced to be *heresy*,—a sentence confirmed by formal decrees of the *Congregation of the Index*, and inserted in the body of the subsequent *Indexes* up to the last in 1835, when, *for the first time*, it was *discontinued*. The pope's and Dr. Murray's humble servant, the Reviewer, was commissioned to help this on; and accordingly he finds that the words *heretical* and *heresy* are but the *stylus curiæ*, or a *legal technicality*, which simple people interpret literally, "without attending to the public acceptation of those terms, which, more than their grammatical construction, ever decides their meaning." For the alleged fact,

* It may be seen for substance in Dr. Doyle's answer to the Commissioners of Education, Appendix to the First Report, p. 795.

that the Inquisition calls all the offences cognizable in her court heretical, the advocate refers to Eymeric's *Directorium Inquisitorum*, without pointing to any place in that large volume; and then illustrates, as he means, the necessity of the technical interpretation by "an amusing story."* It will be important to bear in mind the rule of "public acceptation." The "device" here propounded has been considered so "ingenious" and effective, that it has been adopted by a Roman Catholic clergyman in a late controversy, almost in the same terms, precisely in the same style, and with similarly attempted illustrations.† The controversy is reviewed in a Quarterly Periodical, the *Church of England*, under the title adopted from the pamphlet, originating the public part of the

* See pp. 107—109.

† It would have been as well for these technical interpreters to weigh the caveat which was pretty early and authoritatively opposed to their officious services. In 1268 Clemens IV. rebukes the liberty which some of the highest ecclesiastics had taken of interpreting the apostolic Indulgences to their own sense; and he concludes—Nos, ne prædicti, et alii prædicta Privilegia et indulgentias, sive clara, quæ interpretatione non indigent, sive *dubia* contineant, de cætero interpretari præsumant, inhibemus, volentes, ut, cum *ejus sit interpretari, cujus est condere*, interpretatio super hujusmodi dubiis, et obscuris, dictæ Sedis judicio requiratur. Datum Viterbii Non. Julii anno 4. Amort, p. 219.

controversy, the last word excepted, *The Church of Rome's Traffic in Pardons substantiated.**

* It is the Vth Article in the IXth Number, and published separately. The C. of E. Quarterly has distinguished itself honourably by its almost exclusive Protestant fidelity among the Quarterlies. It is to be hoped that it will maintain its course more uniformly than that which is designated by the simple appellation. In Number 125 for January, 1839, the *Quarterly Review* entitled itself to the gratitude of all genuine protestants by an article inscribed "Papal Conspiracy," and particularly by a passage in it, containing a decisive and strong expression of disgust at the sectarian bigotry which would hesitate at communion with continental protestantism, or calumniate the co-national church of Scotland with the name of Samaria. In the next Number the advantage of its own credit and circulation was lent to an article recommendatory of the cause which it had so justly and effectually condemned, elaborate and sentimenal enough, it is true, but redolent throughout of the juvenility and sophistic character of the sect which it advocated; and, worse than that, disgraced by the ignorant and vituperative views of the Reformation to be collected from such traitors to the Church of England as Heylin and Collier—the last, with singular propriety, called by Dr. Doyle, in his examination before the Lords in 1825, "the very excellent historian, Collier," p. 503. The Reviewer hardly knows what to do with the deceased founder of the society, the young Mr. Froude. That gentleman does so much mischief, that it is dangerous to own him: yet the society owe him so much, that it is ungrateful to repudiate him. He is therefore suspended in mid air. But the whole of the experiment on public credulity is unworthy of such a journal, and is not more than compensated by the return to sound principle and criticism in an eminently valuable article of the ensuing number, "Popish Persecution in the Tyrol." The skill with which it has dovetailed materials not very harmonious is its least praise. Its true claim upon the approbation and gratitude of sincere protestants is, its adequate and irresistible exposure of the native intolerance, cruelty, treachery, knavery, and immorality of the Church

It is not necessary for me to observe, how strong a predilection those who, on all occasions, are most eloquently indignant against a *lax church*, discover for all *lax-associations*

of Rome—an exposure peculiarly valuable during the rampant illusions of the times through which we are passing. And the whole account is so simply and powerfully affecting, that he who can read it without tears, or without an effort to restrain them, is not to be envied. I have mentioned the name of P. Heylin. Let the reader look at page 4 of the Preface "to the Reader," in his *History of the Reformation*. He is speaking of the uniform progress of the Reformation under Edward VI, aided by the concurrence of the council and the prelates; and he adds—"Scarce had they brought it to this pass when King Edward died, *whose death I cannot reckon for an infelicity to the Church of England:* for, being *ill-principled* in himself, and easily inclined to embrace such counsels as were offered to him"—then the author goes on to the leaves and fishes. No wonder that Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, writes of him as he does. In a letter to "Mr. R. S.," as it appears in his *Genuine Remains*, p. 181, he gives Antony Wood his due, for the defamatory character applied by him to many good men, especially the Anti-Arminians, who are all, (particularly Dr. Prideaux,) made seditious persons, and schismatics, if not heretics; and he adds—"nay, our first Reformers, out of *Pet. Heylin's angry and (to our Church and Truth) scandalous writings, are made Fanatics.*" Heylin, to be sure, in the next page to that quoted, talks of Bonner as he deserves, and calls him a "bloody butcher." This can be afforded; but he was no more a butcher than his religion, on the occasion, naturally made him. I have before me copies of the *Royal Papers*, one of the *Duchess of York*, "published by his Majesty's command," and printed by the Royal Printer, Henry Hills, 1686. The Duchess avers, that she was determined in favour of popery by reading Dr. Heylin's History of the Reformation. This is quite enough. None but those familiarly acquainted with the eventful reign of James know what importance was put upon this and the two

in favour of their own. The fact is, they wish it to be all law, and all the law in their own hands—interpretation, execution, and all. It is all, in imitation of their master, and as limbs of the body corporate, to be *in scrinio pectoris sui*—all to be exclusively under their control and at their disposal. The laity, the flock, is the *passive* part of the mass—their privilege, their duty, is blind, unquestioned, unquestion-

other Royal Papers. The papists, being and intending, considered them decisive of the returning dominion of popery, and exulted most triumphantly. Dryden became a first-rate champion; and had he not spoilt all by his *Religio Laici* and other things, he might have gone for something. However Stillingfleet and others, and the event, set all to rest. Stillingfleet in particular exposed the low, political views of Heylin, which have as little to do with the substance, or christianity of the Reformation, as the shell with the kernel: indeed hardly so much. For any thing that appears, Heylin knew next to nothing of the proper end of the Christian profession; and yet it is to such miserable incompetence and perversion that the youth of the university are directed for guidance by a sect of some influence. It is an auspicious circumstance, that both the divinity chairs have decidedly, though temperately, declared against the specious but mischievous novelty. To those who have proved themselves unworthy of the blessings of the reformation, by despising them, as the Israelites did the food of heaven, the remonstrance of the apostle may almost appear to have been prophetically addressed—"now, after that ye have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years"—and something more—"I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain." Gal. iv. 9—11.

ing *obedience.** But the inquiry here is a little more liberal. It is here mooted, what application the technicality suggested has to the Indulgences, and expressed pardons, of the Church of Rome, in all respects—whether the technical, that is, a figurative meaning, or the literal, is the true.

The reader is just requested to recollect the terms, of which specimens have been given in the preceding pages, as found in the spiritual largesses of the Roman church. Pardon—remission—of sin—all sins, the gravest and most enormous, and such as for their enormity are reserved finally to the supreme tribunal, that of the holiness of our lord the pope—the guilt as

* When, and as long as, kings and queens, instead of being nursing fathers and mothers of *the* church, can be made executioners of *her's*, and, like a Ferdinand, celebrated in her breviary, be fagot-bearers at her brazeros; while magistrates will put her laws in execution, and the people obey them, and so relieve her of all the toil and odium of such performances, at the same time feeding her and her sons with the fatness of the land, with wealth, influence, and luxury, not a whisper will be heard against the secular government or its union with the church—a law-church will lose all its offence—*for*, it will be their own. Their own church, in her natural, foreign territory, is church and state in one; she is spiritual and temporal together. It cannot be so in countries distant and foreign. They must be considered, even when in subjection, (what she calls communion,) a kind of lieutenancy; and obedient execution of her behests is all, and the utmost, which she desires.

well as the punishment—and, to guard against accidents, in the article of death, or as often as it threatens—to which is to be added security to the living against the intervening pains of Purgatory. The benefit ends not here; it extends to purgatory itself—to its actual tenants if not previously provided for. Let the reader be reminded of the inducements held out by Urban II. and other pontiffs to those who enlisted in the crusade and other regiments, which if they did not secure heaven to those who fell in the conflict were absolute nullities and mockeries.* Let these and many other assurances of the same description be considered; and let it be noticed, that in not one of them is there the slightest hint of a double, technical, delu-

* So when a fleet of the papal powers was preparing for a conflict with the Turkish fleet in 1571, "a plenary Indulgence was" granted by Pius V., and "immediately published; and the commander-in-chief, John of Austria, assured the combatants of happiness, whether they survived or fell in the contest —those who escaped, from the felicity of their lot, and those who died, because they had 'placed their souls in paradise by the grace of indulgence: nor could they doubt of victory with such an intercessor as Pius'—i morti per aver collocate l'anime loro in Paradiso per gratia dell' Indulgenza. &c. Catena, 214." See *Life of St. Pius* V., pp. 181, 2. Adriani, in his *Ist. de' suoi tempi*, p. 884, ed. 1583, attests that this was the precise assurance given by the accredited priests to the soldiers—the indulgence gave remission of all their sins—nothing to do, of course, with the pardon of sin!

sive meaning—every thing direct and in intelligible terms, not pretending to the slenderest value, or indeed meaning, unless the literal were the intended meaning; and then let him say, whether the introduction of a technical machinery is not the most arrant exhibition of empirical imposition and imposture in spiritual things, which the knavery of those whose trade it is to deceive ever concocted. But to make the matter as plain and decisive as possible; if, in the *pœna et culpa* clause, technically allow or require *culpa* to be understood of *punishment*, then by all parity of grammar, logic and reason, the same technicality allows or requires, that *pœna* should be understood of *guilt*; and so by technicality we get nothing but a change of place—the thing remains as firm and unaltered in its *being* as ever—the same *dura silex* or *Marpesia cautes*. If the gentleman of technicality is uncomfortably seated on one horn of the dilemma, let him try the other.

The pure and unquestioned absolutions of the penitentiary taxes are completely unimpressible by these weapons. The technicalities slide away from them as from a martello tower.

Let us however, in indulgence, confine the

inquiry to where it promises best for the adversary—*Indulgences;* and let us consider how *they* may be affected. And that we may not be bound to receive the law upon this subject from any living individual, or mere section, of the present church of Rome, which for decency they would hardly require, let us extend our inquiry and draw our witnesses from the general body, and particularly the men of past times, who being placed nearer to the object were better judges, if they were honest, in every respect. If all these individuals *agreed*, either in the principle of technicality, or in the application of it, or in the results to which it conducted them, their testimony would be entitled to some respect. But how stands the matter? There certainly was an attempt made by them to exonerate their church from the charge of sacrilegious and inhuman knavery, to which it obviously lay open, and from which it as obviously could little escape. And therefore these men, who so far deserved well of their church, had to oppose, and, if possible, conciliate that great body of their fellow-Romanists, who, zealous for the honour of their church, would on no terms allow, that she could wilfully deceive her children in a spiritual and eternal concern, and

send them hoodwinked to hell, under the impression, for which their church made herself answerable, that they were assuredly going to heaven. This in fact is the awful picture which the pamphlet mentioned above exhibits in a detail, derived in a great measure from the communicative Eusebius Amort on the subject, and absolutely incontrovertible. These witnesses almost uniformly bear testimony, a forced one it appears, to the generally existing opinion, that the papal Indulgences meant as they spake—*tantum valent quantum sonant*—and expressed in a variety of ways, even to a jingle of words, as exhibited by Cardinal Cajetan, *tantum donant quantum sonant*—a plain evidence of the popularity and prevalence of the belief—therefore in accordance with the Dublin Reviewer's requirement and test, "public acceptation." These witnesses likewise depose to the fact, that a pious fraud, a beneficial deception, was the apology brought forward by those who, rationally enough, could not, and did not believe, that there was an atom of value in the spiritual nostrums so pompously announced. It was nevertheless highly important to keep up their credit. The demand and proceeds absolutely depended on it. If the depreciation

should proceed to any great extent, the concern would be bankrupted. But it was impossible, that persons of but moderate education, however vitiated, could even pretend to believe, or openly support, a palpable falsehood. Ingenious devices, the best that could be fabricated, must be called in aid in this case of emergency. There was no great concern to act in precise harmony; the necessity for it was not at the time apparent, perhaps did not exist. Each doctor managed independently, as well as he could. He had to make a Mercury out of rotten wood. And the result has been in some respect ludicrous, although in a more impressive one mournful. To the *tantum valent* one doctor joins six conditions; others say, that the indulgence remits *culpa;* another, that it is confined to venial sins; another takes a middle course; another strips it of every extravagant virtue, but is obliged to reduce its value exactly in proportion as it is made at all reasonable; and concludes, that it *is not to be despised.* The *undercurrent of the money payments,* and their proportion, is discernible in almost all. The angelic doctor has extricated himself and his church as neatly as any of them. He boldly asserts the *tantum* clause, but sub-

joins a *dummodo*—PROVIDED there be authority in the giver, charity* in the receiver, piety in the cause. If we give to the second member of this commodious condition the fullest meaning of which it is capable, all the rest might be surrendered as chaff. This procedure of the angelic doctor may pretty accurately be represented by the supposed case of a man, who offers an estate to another, affirming it to be a *bona fide* offer, and that he means, as his words literally purport, to grant it outright: but he adds—PROVIDED there be a right to the property in the giver, the full value paid by the receiver, and a satisfactory object as the cause. Here again it is mainly the second article

* The word *charity* in the popular theology of Rome is equivalent to universal religion, and is the papal way of frustrating the doctrine of Justification by Faith alone as taught by the apostle Paul to the primitive church of Rome, and by her held for a time in purity; in modern times, however, evaded, by her holding it, not directly and explicitly, but by uniting and identifying faith with charity, and so introducing the latter, if not as the sole, as a joint, valuable consideration for the benefit received. And into this trap human nature has caused many who thought themselves clean escaped from Rome to fall. With them, it is faith—not, in the just view of the doctrine, as necessarily *followed* by charity, but faith—as *comprehending* charity, and therefore the chief, or only valuable ingredient, and the proper rational cause of justification. Nothing has aided this perversion more completely than the understanding justification of inherent righteousness, and grace of sanctification, *which it never means* but by consequence.

which tells. Even the prince of papal polemics, Bellarmine,* presents nothing to diminish the confusion of opinion on this subject, which, whether it technically be *de Fide* or not, is vitally and expressly connected with the everlasting destiny of man in the future world; and a modern Gratian, who would try his hand at a *Concordia Discordantium,* would find matter enough in the theological exercitations of the choicest of Rome's sons on the riches of their church's exclusive treasury. There is indeed one clue which might conduct us through the labyrinth: it is, the well confirmed obser-

* Of the Indulgences Bellarmine asserts, that the *plenissima* adjoins the remission, not only of *pœna*, but of *culpa*, *saltem venialis*. Let the whole host of deceived or deceiving Romanists reiterate, that their church's indulgences have *nothing to do with sin*. They will probably kick away their ablest, purpled, advocate, for the turn. This is their wont. Foulis, in his *Romish Treasons*, &c. Preface, ed. 1671, quotes from Card. Domin. Tuschus, Pract. Conclus. To. 4, v. Indulg. § 6—Quando Papa concedit plenariam Absolutionem, intelligitur, quod absolvit *tam a culpa quam a pœna* quoad omnia peccata quantumque enormia. I make this reference entirely on the credit of Foulis. There is a copy of the work in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in eight volumes; and Foulis, being an Oxford man, very probably derived his quotation from that copy, or at least might verify the one by the other. An account of Tuschus may be seen in Ciacon. *Vit. Pontt. et Cardd.* iv., coll. 319—321. This cardinal goes a little beyond the other; for he ascribes absolutely the remissio *culpæ* to the *plenaria*, not the *plenissima* absolution.

vation, that knaves and impostors of all classes and grades use one language when they are imposing, and another when they are suspected or detected.*

* For the representation here given it is sufficient to refer to the *Church of Rome's Traffic* &c. pp. 25—30, in the separate publication. But, lest the reader should not be in possession of the pamphlet, I will subjoin the express references which appear there. Amort *de Indulg.* pp. 233, et seqq., where he gives extracts from *One hundred and thirty-five* of the most eminent writers of the Roman church on the subject; Thom. Aquin. *Summ. theol. Suppl. to the IIId book, Quæst.* xxv., xxvi., xxvii.; Cajetan. *Opusc.* tom. I, Tract. xv. and xvi.; Bellarm. *Controv. de Indulg.* l. i., throughout. I would here add, because I would not omit, that it is a remarkable circumstance, that Amort would prove indulgences available to the tenants of purgatory *per modum deprecationis*, because there is no proportion in *justice* between the trifling conditions, and the immense benefit of extracting a soul from purgatory. This proves, as we have observed before, that in the view of such Romanists as Amort the effect of some indulgences was of no mean value. See p. 417. In pp. 423, 4, is a curious and awful calculation, that in two or three years more plenary indulgences are applied, than souls could descend to purgatory from the beginning of the world. He hence infers, that all indulgences are *not valid*; and he demonstrates it by an extended arithmetical operation. What frightful imposition is all this! To make it needful of proof, that indulgences for the dead do not always avail! As if such a piece of mountebank knavery succeeded in a single instance! Or, as if a single Romanist, not an idiot, believed that it did!—or, not a knave, *professed* that he so believed! Amort might almost be suspected of having written in grave ridicule. The question has been moved more than once, why the pope, having the power, did not evacuate purgatory; and several serious answers have been given. The best and truest, though never, I believe, given, at least by the party, would be, that then all further produce from so rich a *field would cease.*

The blow which has been inflicted upon the reputation of the Roman church—the court must not be allowed to intervene, and exclaim, *Me, me, adsum qui feci*, &c.—particularly with reference to the venality which has ever accompanied the disposal of her spiritual treasure, has been so heavy, that many very sincere advocates of the Italian see have sorely, truly, and vociferously denounced the abuses of their church, in that, as well as other departments. It is by the word *abuses* that these expert pleaders generally designate what in common language are called its *corruptions*. The effect is plain; and we may therefore, and legitimately enough, infer the motive. An abuse implies a use. And yet with the abuses of ecclesiastical Rome in view, to call them simply abuses with this reserve, is hardly more rational, than to talk of the abuses of the slave trade, the abuses of the race course, of the gambling house, or of other houses of no better repute. However, *to denounce* these abuses, I mean the Roman, is a politic step. To own, and it is the same, or worse, to defend them, in this country at least, would only bring disgrace and injury to the whole community, without any countervailing advantages. It is the

same with respect to the *persecutions* inflicted by the papal church. The re-action upon the reputation, and all that follows, is dreadful. There is often a degree of deep and sincere, because interested, penitence in the bosoms of the persecutors: they have not got their gains free; and therefore we find, that papal historians are very shy of the reign of our queen Mary I. Even Sanders shrinks from particulars. So does Dodd.* So does the semi-papist, though nominal protestant, Collier. They fly over the space with as little willing contact and stay, as if they were performing

* A new edition of Dodd's Church History has commenced under auspices morally inferior to those which would have attended the editorship of either Berington or Kirk. It is a providential circumstance, that this writer was so thrown off his guard by an exclusive attention to self-vindication as to avow a principle which utterly nullifies his credit as a historian. When he had published the second of his volumes he was violently attacked by a Jesuit for not being sufficiently favourable to his society. Dodd in his *Apology*, pp. 51, 2, asserts that he was never deficient in such services, and even in regard of several of his accuser's "*suspected brethren*, where," he proceeds, "I was obliged to sweat, and labour, before I could bring them off with a whole skin." Is any thing more necessary, by the historian's own shewing, to prove, that he was ready to justify the guilty and to criminate the innocent, whenever his religion presented an adequate temptation so to do? And when the integrity of a historian is thus gone, what is the value of his history? Doubtless, he will tell the truth, when it is for, or not against, his interests.

the trial by the fire ordeal, happy to escape from the nine ploughshares with moderate cauterization. If, however, the professors and friends of the papal faith are disposed to do penance on the subject of these or any other of the abuses of their church—her published sales of indulgences; the virtually authorised extortions and impostures of her questors; her profound and unblushing hypocrisy; her absolute, material idolatry, open in her own countries, covert in ours; her sanguinary spirit and acts, when in power and tempted; her licensed treachery; her tremendous obscenity and tyranny in the confessional; her profligate contempt of the sanctity and obligation of an oath—we willingly accept it in part payment, and consent to regard it as an *instalment*—

I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word.

The very word conjures up the image of that man, who seems selected by a justly indignant providence to inflict, by means of the power with which he has been preposterously invested, the deepest possible humiliation upon a pre-eminently favoured and most ungrateful people. Yes: *your* church, (for it is yours *by profession*, and well paired ye are,) *your church* will have many instalments to pay, or she will be

cast into jail, not that of her own creation, and of which she assumes the government and disposal, but one more real, to which her jurisdiction does not extend; one from which money will not redeem; no, not the income of centuries of rents or Indulgences; nor oaths trampled upon and shewn up in scorn; nor vows registered where they will never be found.

The best informed and most conscientious scholars, especially those, whether cleric or laic, who lived just about the revival of literature and christianity, have uniformly taken great interest in the specific subject of the preceding pages; and even the more intelligent of the Roman communion, the only external religious communion then existing, felt it a duty not only to make themselves acquainted with the iniquities prevailing in that communion, but freely to expose them to the world; trusting, that natural shame, by its simple force, would ultimately produce some reformation. The valuable collection of protesters against their own church, or the *Fasciculus*, of Orthoinus Gratius, more especially the enlargement of the work by our countryman Edward Brown, is a pregnant and imperishable monument of this state of feeling at the time; and the solemn remonstrance and

exposure of depraved Rome by the princes and nobles of the German empire at the diet of Nuremberg in 1522 are a proof that there was, at that time, and among that people, little of the heartless indifference to the purity of the Christian faith and church which later times have disgracefully exhibited. The reader cannot fail to recollect the honoured names of Claude d'Espense, too good for the cardinalate, and another scholar of worth, Richer, syndic of the theological faculty of Paris.

That indulgences, venal pardons, and taxes for sins of the most heinous character regularly catalogued, and all issued and sanctioned by a church of the most extravagant pretensions, would be considered as matter of interesting and not useless curiosity by those who grounded their own independent reformation chiefly on the incorrigible depravity of that church, can only be regarded as a circumstance not more natural than creditable. Among *foreign* reformers, therefore, who have particularly distinguished themselves by laying open to the world the impurities of the church which refused to reform, it is no matter of surprise to find the honourable names of the theological

professor, Musculus ;* the noble and learned Mornay du Plessis ; Antoine du Pinet, Seigneur de Noroy ; Andrew Rivet, professor of divinity at Leyden ; Lawrence Banck, the Swede, professor of civil law in the university of Franeker—without adding the more questionable name of Bayle, and the respectable one of Marchand.

If we proceed to *our own country*, we shall meet with a name, honoured by all who have any knowledge of the present subject, or almost of any other, Thomas James, first libra-

* This and the following names are well known : but I cannot deny myself the pleasure of referring to Melchior Adam's life of Wolfgang Musculus, as presenting to the reader the picture of a most meritorious and laborious convert from popery to the reformation, at the expense of great worldly prospects, who in a varied life was sought and followed by all who loved goodness and truth, and never resided in any place which he did not enlighten and bless by his labours. He was converted by the perusal of some of Luther's writings. He knew his own first church well enough not to be deceived respecting her doctrines, and had too much conscience to misrepresent her. His statement therefore of her Tax-tables and Indulgences is unimpeachable. His case was precisely that of *our* reformers. Their impenitent opponents were too wise to charge them with misrepresentation : they both knew that such a charge was groundless, and that nobody would, or could, believe it. But in aftertimes, when those who attacked popery had not been papists themselves, the charge of misrepresentation offered a *chance* of being believed ; and that chance has been plentifully availed of. In some circles it has had a nine days' run.

rian of the Bodleian library in Oxford.* About the same age will be found William Crashaw, whost *Mittimus* is known to all who do not cherish ignorance on such subjects; and of whom, every work almost which he published will make the apostate church feel to her latest breath: (what a contrast to the degenerate but harmonious son, who to such as think poetry is religion, is far better known!) Why should I mention one of the brightest ornaments of protestant and all other divinity, Bishop Stillingfleet;† or Bishop Taylor‡; Henry Foulis§; Williams, bishop of Chichester;** Tenison,

* See his *Corruptions*, passim, and particularly his very valuable, though incorrectly printed, *Manuduction*, pp. 64, 65.

† *Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome truly represented*, in answer to the tract of Gother on the insidious, false, and iniquitous principle of the Bossuetic Exposition—the *new* Popery, Chap. viii., on Indulgences, where the *Taxæ* are introduced. This valuable work has been lately reprinted, with able and interesting notes, by the Rev. William Cunningham, Edinburgh, 1837.

‡ *Dissuasive from Popery*, part I., pp. 93, 94, in the 4to. edition. Oxford has honoured herself by the reprint of this and other seasonable works in the *Enchiridion Theologicum Anti-Romanum*—a good antidote to the covert popery of some individuals in Oxford.

§ Preface to his *Romish Treasons*, &c. He has there made large extracts from the *tax-tables*.

** *Apology for the Pulpits*, in answer to *Good Advice to the Pulpits* by Gother in his incorrigibly silly way of misrepresenting both Protestantism and Popery. He did as a decoy. See the Apology, p. 52, in the original 4to. edition.

archbishop of Canterbury ;* Bull, bishop of St. David's ?†

That *those who determinately adhere to the Italian church, and their friends,* whether ignorantly and honestly, or consciously and insidiously, should view the subject with opposition

* See a *Defence of Dr. Tenison's Sermon* in a Letter by himself to Williams, and subjoined to the Apology. It is an excellent collection of facts and reasonings respecting the *Venal Indulgences of Rome.* He has there given the Indulgences in Italian and English granted on occasion of the Canonization of Five Saints by Clement X. in 1671, which, it appears from *Rome's Traffic in Pardons*, pp. 15—17, was called in question. The author, however, found it entire in Latin in Dr. Andrew Sall's *True Catholic and Apostolic Faith maintained in the Church of England*, Part II., pp. 203—210. Tenison has likewise made large extracts from the *Horæ Sarum* of 1526, the same edition as Burnet's already referred to.

† In his *Corruptions of the Church of Rome in answer to the Bp. of Meaux*, ed. 1705, pp. 280—2. This edition forms an appendix to *several Letters between Dr. G. Hickes and a Popish Priest*, and is valuable from having the passages at length which are simply referred to in prior editions. The Bishop dwells, not only on Indulgences, but on the infamous *Taxæ*, citing and translating the notorious passage in Claude d'Espense. Theologic literature has been enriched lately by a new and correct edition of the *Corruptions*, with a valuable Preface and Notes by my esteemed friend the Rev. Thomas P. Pantin, 1836. The passage alluded to above is found in 63, 64 of his pages. The eminently learned and acute Dr. Brevint, who had seventeen years of experience of Papists in their own countries, in his *still* valuable work, *Saul*, &c. or *New Ways of Salvation and Service which usually tempt man to Rome*, &c. pp. 217, 246, has particularly referred to, as well as in part extracted from, the *Taxæ Cancellar. Apost.* Paris, 1520. Modern ignorance would do well to inform itself from this source.

of all shades, is so little extraordinary, that nothing can be imagined more probable. The results of course vary. There is either a furious outcry of misrepresentation and calumny; or subtle distinctions of evidence and guilt; or melting appeals to candour, charity, and all the sentimental feelings. At all events the facts of the case must be forced, or drawn, into suspicion. Some have no notion of any difference between pure and impure in Christianity being insisted upon, and cannot conceive, that whatever assumes the name, is not to be admitted as possessing the reality. If therefore deism, or something atrocious, be abjured and attacked, that is enough.

Yes, strike that Wild, I'll justify the blow.

Such dotage is rather too much. Just as if it were denied that deism, or any other antichristianity, were not an evil worth putting down. But does it hence follow, that one man is to do every thing, or that, if he does one good thing, he is to be chastised because he did not some other? May not the assailant of the worst abuse of the best thing, or he who convicts the strumpet of Rome of being what she is, and of not being what she pretends to be, for truth's sake and the general safety, humbly step into

the second place, and be tolerated as performing an *inferior* service—*if such!*

Again: there are some whose sensibility is tremblingly, and perhaps sincerely, agitated by exposures of certain iniquities; and the discovery is not peculiarly theirs, that such exposures *may* be attended with positive evil, particularly if in truth, and not by false imputation, they are conducted without that caution and reserve which truth in part admits, and in part enjoins. But if a less and accidental evil is never to be hazarded, in order to avoid or expel a greater and a substantial one, there is an end at once of a large portion of the good deeds which man is bound to attempt. It might likewise not be amiss for the ultra-puritans in view, to reflect, that the arrow which they discharge may not exactly stop at the mark at which they aim, and that it may, *and does*, fly onward, and with equal justice and force lodge itself in the act of an apostle, who conceived it to be, not a violation, but a performance, of his sacred duty, to charge on the heathen, straightforwardly, and without any treacherous mollification or disguise, the crimes of which they were guilty.* These well meaning censors do

* See particularly his Epistle to the Romans, i.

more, and possibly without knowing or intending it—they confer upon guilt the very boon which it ought least to be allowed to hope for—impunity, and impunity just in proportion to its enormity. Let guilt only become so abominable as to pollute the mouth by repeating it, and the pen by writing it, and the ear by hearing, or the eye by reading it, and every object which it could desire is obtained. Vice and impiety have at last found their best friend; and he is not the worse to them for the additional service which he performs in slandering their accusers. The jails are thrown open, and the inmates not only escape, but are at liberty to resume their labours of iniquity with renewed activity and renewed assurance of impunity. Well: we have others, and they, as it is understood, not in the humblest stations, who discourage and restrain the zeal of honest, able, and willing soldiers in a contest now more than ever imperative, by the oracular caution, *not to widen the breach.* Not widen the breach! why the enemy is already within the walls. Traitors within have aided in introducing him, and, now he is in, are co-operating with him in varied styles of openness, or secrecy. Such is the fact: but we must not widen the breach!

Turn we from these, and peace be to them! let them depart; their presence brings no blessing with it; and at last England, and the whole empire, will find it out. There is a faithful band among us, however lightly esteemed, and however ungraciously treated, who have, for ten years at least, seen all their forebodings verified, and those who ridiculed them reduced to the necessity, either of humiliating confession of error, or of wilful persistence in views and principles which their conscience tells them are false. There is a faithful band, who esteem the unadulterated or restored religion of Christ as the richest treasure of immortal man, and the way of justification for the sinner before God which that religion exclusively reveals, as that for which blood itself is not too dear to be spent, nor the stake too dreadful to be encountered. They know that these things, of which Rome, even in the forms in which she bids fairest, would deprive them, are to be contended for unto the death; and if the day of trial should come, they are preparing—perhaps ready—for it.

This is not the language of despair. The Italian apostate may obtain a temporary and [illegible]*ive* triumph. The traitors of our country

and church are doing their best to promote that event. As a scourge for the deeply guilty, and to make the eventual deliverance more conspicuously one from above, a temporary and delusive—remember delusive—triumph may probably be allowed to the hierarchy and slaves of the Prince of darkness: but One greater than he will not forsake either his people or his church. At the time appointed he will shew, that he had seen their efforts and heard their prayers, and he will prosper them, but *in a way* still that will discover him to be as regardful of his own peculiar agency and honour as of keeping his promise to those who faithfully serve him. At that doomed season Babylon shall fall—*shall fall*—probably even in the midst of her proudest triumph, and by the very means which have created that triumph. Her very watchwords and war-whoop shall turn upon her, as they have begun to do. "Emancipation" will excite no thought but that of deliverance of the wretched thralls of papal tyranny, whether in Ireland or elsewhere. "Justice for Ireland" will suggest no feeling but that of a wish or prayer, that those who have escaped from anti-christian darkness and pollution may be protected against the savage

resentment of the papal priesthood. "Civil and religious liberty" will be the very boon implored by persecuted Christians from a hireling and anti-religious government.* "Voluntarianism" itself will, with its gigantic efforts, turn against her, and make her heartily repent of having invoked its aid. "Venality" will fly in her face, and in the face of her vilest slaves, when the fact will shine as a sun-beam, that venality exudes from every pore of Rome's and her children's bodies. Her claim to infallibility will make every separate conviction of error a mortal wound; and the dreadful engine of her confessional, by its detected profligacy, will deter all but the profligate from her communion.† And when her time is come she

* If such a government as the British empire has now (1839) had for *ten years* be in existence at the time.

† We might add the Council of Trent, and the epitome of its doctrine, the Creed and Oath of Pius IV., by which for the time Rome preserved and consolidated her power, particularly the latter, which has been *personally* binding upon all the effective members of her communion. And yet the recoil from this very circumstance has been so formidable, that the attempt to be released from it has been made public in the work of a professor of Munich, Möhler, *Symbolik*, &c. in 1834, and translated into French. But let these wary liberals take care how they fly in the face of their supreme master. Let them remember that the council which they use as their pretence not only binds upon them all the contents of their creed, but by its decrees, cap. i. and xii., in the XXIVth Session, expressly provides for a

will be compelled to restore all her dishonest acquisitions: and her colleges and other seminaries, her cathedrals, her monasteries, and her nunneries, shall become protestant or Christian establishments, somewhat in the same way as the navies of France and Spain have heretofore recruited ours, without the charge of building. And then the true church, deeply unworthy as she has proved, purified by the fire through which she has passed, and having witnessed the consumption of the chaff and stubble within her, or—to borrow an illustration from times not very remote, when, amidst serious alarms of foreign invasion, assisted by intestine treason, a just rebuke was given to our idolatrous reliance upon our wooden walls by the mutiny of the Nore, and that mutiny was mercifully quelled—having lived to see the spiritual treason which threatened her as mercifully extinguished, shall pass the remaining periods of her existence, through whatsoever fortunes besides, in the belief and enjoyment

profession of faith and oath of obedience to the same purpose as those of Pius IV. And what will be the case with those who are already profest and sworn? Will they apply for a Dispensation? But all will bring no remedy to the proof of the novelty of their religion, which the immoveable Council of Trent will still attest. That religion may boast some centuries, and yet be novel.

of pure truth, in the practice of vital holiness, and with the favour and blessing of God.

The present inquiry would very legitimately include the *Dispensations* of ecclesiastical Rome, since they are not only strictly connected with her pecuniary transactions, but, as mainly affecting the higher, or more opulent classes, are of an eminently lucrative description. The apostolic treasury, and all the officials of the Roman see, whether sacred or secular, are nearly, if not quite, as interested in this source of wealth as in that of Absolutions and Indulgences. This will be abundantly evident from the most cursory inspection of the Taxæ, not only of the Penitentiary, but of the other parts, and indeed of all the forms and portions which have come to public light, where Dispensations are nearly as prominent, both as headings and separate articles, as Absolutions themselves. Any remaining doubt on the subject would immediately be removed by a reference to the Tribunal of the *Dateria apostolica.*

A Dispensation is differently defined; but it is really, according to the accepted doctrine of the Church of Rome, a release by authority of that Church from such laws as she has her-

self imposed. The great theologic oracle of the Roman church, Thomas Aquinas, has carefully exempted from the power of dispensation all laws properly divine: and in this restriction he is followed by later authorities, perhaps to the present time.

Dispensations differ not materially from Indulgences; but their operation is generally prospective, and their principal matter is—Matrimony and its various impediments*—defects as to birth, and vitiosity and mutilations of body, together with various disabilities as ecclesiastical benefices and offices are concerned—and relaxations (release) or commutations of vows and oaths.† These occasions for the ap-

* Matrimony being a *mixed* matter, that is, temporal and spiritual, affords just the opportunity which is wanted, of introducing temporal interference by means of spiritual—it is the cleft which allows the insertion of the sharp end of the wedge. See Report of Examination before the Lords on the State of Ireland, 1825, March 24, p. 424. The term is likewise applied to marriages between Papists and non-Papists.

† There is a very curious note by Lightfoot in his Hebrew and Talmudic Exercit. on Acts xxiii., 12, Works, folio, ii., 703, where the vow of the Jews that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul is the subject, and which shews, that the dispensing power relative to oaths and vows in the Roman, had its archetype in the Rabbinical church. "What becomes of the anathematized," writes the annotator, "if their curse come upon them? Alas! they need not be very solicitous about that matter, they have their Casuist-Rabbins, that

plication of the dispensing power, particularly the impediments to matrimony, have been almost infinitely multiplied,* the latter more especially, by introducing for that purpose *spiritual affinity*,† the fictitious affinity arising from sponsorship in baptism, with the effect, which could not be unknown, nor, we may add, unintended, of opening the greatest possible number of channels for the golden streams, or rather rivers, and those no shallow ones, which ultimately disembogue themselves into the apostolic treasury.

As I study conciseness in the present observations, it will conduce to that object, and to the satisfaction of the reader, to state distinctly the authorities upon which I have principally relied, and the particular portions where the subject is treated.

S. Tho. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, three Parts and a Supplement, which is posthumous.

can easily release them of that vow. (Hieros. Avodah Zarah, fol. 40, 1.) *Let him go to the wise men, and they will loose his vow, according as it is written, the tongue of the wise is health*, Prov. xii., 18." Doubtless the church of Rome has likewise borrowed her canons of scriptural interpretation from Rabbinism.

* See the 1st of the Centum Gravamina.

† Luther, rather beyond the middle of his *De Captivate Babylonica*, has inveighed against the mercenary invention of *spiritual affinity* with his own rude and irresistible eloquence.

The portion concerned is 2, 2, that is, Second Part of the Second Part, familiarly quoted *Secunda Secundæ*, and barbarously designated at first by the figures 22 with no separation, Quæst. LXXXVIII., Art. x., xi., xii., for *Vows;* Quæst. LXXXIX., Art. ix., for *Oaths*. My edition is that of Paris, 1639.

Valerius Reginaldus, *Praxis Fori Pœnitentialis*, &c. Colon. 1633, lib. xvi., num. 18, p. 480, *Dispensations in general;* lib. XVIII., num. 34, &c. pp. 527, &c., *Oaths;* lib. XVIII., num. 325 to the end, pp. 583, &c., *Vows*, dispensation and commutation.

Pet. Dens, *Theologia Mor et Dog.* last Dublin edition, 1832. In tom. II. pp. 345, &c., repeating the limitation of St. Thomas, the author asserts, that the church dispenses with, or relaxes, vows and oaths, not properly, *(non propriè)* but by changing the matter; and he affirms the persons possessing the authority to be the pope, the bishops, and other delegates. The legitimate cause, the *justa causa*, he explains to be, *Necessitas aliqua, utilitas vel pietas rationabiliter movens ad dispensandum*, p. 350. In tom. IV., p. 134, he introduces the dispensation and commutation of *Vows;* at pp. 214, &c., *Oaths*, and the modes by which

their obligation ceases. The second of these modes is, by dispensation and relaxation, and when they are a direct impediment to greater good. He assumes likewise, that it is a condition essential in every oath, that it be "*salvo jure Superioris.*" The inverted commas are the author's, and the maxim is worth remembering.

There is yet another author, whom I shall present more copiously. He is Peter Collet, Doctor of Theology, &c., and author of several elaborate and extended works, seventeen volumes octavo, on Moral Theology, &c. But the work which concerns the present subject, is *Traitè des Despenses*, in three thick, closely printed volumes, duodecimo, and so well received as to have reached the fourth edition in 1758. It is printed in Paris. In volume I., and chapter i., and at page 5, the author admits, that the church sometimes permits things which, simply considered, have an indecorous air; but it is only under circumstances which destroy that quality, and which in some sort alter their nature, and convert what is really odious into something useful and even necessary. St. Thomas, with a precision peculiar to him, explains this matter; and his reason-

ing may be applied to *Vows* and *Oaths*, of which the dissolution appears at first sight to belong exclusively to God: and yet the pope and bishops relax every day. As this, says our author, is a capital point, it is important, that the church should be well assured of it; and he adds, that it is the very basis of his whole work. At page 11, after appealing to a decree of the Council of Trent, Session xxv., chapter xviii., of Reformation, he proposes the question—Can the Church dispense with promises made to God, or those which have been confirmed by oath? He allows, that there is a difficulty in the answer, but attempts it; firstly, by saying, that owing to a change of circumstances promises may become, either dangerous, or very difficult to accomplish; secondly, that a body so wisely constituted as the church ought *(doit)* to receive every thing necessary for the guidance of its members. The guides of the flock, therefore, ought to have received, *(ont dû recevoir,)* and by consequence *have* received, from the Son of God, all the necessary powers, *(et par consequent ont reçu de lui*, &c.) This proof, he proceeds, is as short as it is decisive. Nothing more is necessary than the following argument:—Jesus Christ

ought to do such or such a thing for his church; therefore he has infallibly done it—*Jesu Christ a dú faire telle ou telle chose pour son Eglise; donc il l'a faite infaillablement.* If any thing more positive be required, it may be supplied by the Scriptural grant—"Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth," &c.—words, which have a sense applicable to Him, who has all power in heaven and in earth; words, from which the church has concluded that she has authority even to remit sins; words, which she has always understood in the sense just given; words, which by a necessary consequence authorise her to dispense at times with oaths and vows, because it is sometimes necessary for the faithful, that they should be dispensed with *(du besoin des Fidèles,* &c.) and because otherwise she might be mistaken in the sense put by her upon the Sacred Text.

If the reader wish for more in this way he may amuse himself as long as his patience will last. He has seen enough to be satisfied, that in Roman writers no uniform adherence is to be expected to the modest and cautious principles which they may find it their interest occasionally to profess. This author has spoken pretty plainly and honestly; and

he has shewn, that if his church have not all the power which she could desire, it is not for want of having claimed it. She is the architect of her own—I had almost said—omnipotence. With infinite dexterity she has provided for the acquisition, control, and direction, of every possible power in the vast and mysterious machinery of her own construction, which she manages and regulates at will. What with the exclusive right which she assumes of interpreting her own laws; what with her studied ambiguity and confusion; what with the unbounded facilities which she has secured for arbitrary determination, particularly *impediment to greater good,* (and can there be greater than that of the church? and who is the judge of that?)—nothing, in her own world, seems to be withheld from her. Rome can lay her hand, and wield her magic wand, over any subject, in any manner, and to what effect, she pleases. To help, or rather to complete all, there is, what has been already noticed, the *justa causa,* or *ratio,* together with the *Tridentine decree* appealed to. And in the latter it is ordained, that even the most sacred canons may be dispensed with by the legitimate authority—provided an urgent and just cause and

greater utility so require—*si urgens justaque ratio, et major quandoque utilitas postulaverit.* In a word, the Church of Rome, including the court, is the most complete picture of despotism, as far as she is concerned, which has ever exhibited itself to the world; and not the less for professing and appearing to be spiritual. It is a government absolutely without limits; and those which she publishes are perfectly null, when requisite, and of no use or application, except to deceive, and gain an object. The pretensions of spirituality are a mere paper wall, and the passage from temporal to spiritual, and from spiritual to temporal, is as free and open as the king's highway. The distinction, which is adamantine, and ought to be inviolable, between divine and human laws, is equally frail and yielding; and vanishes into thin air at the approach of the simplest novice of a canonist or casuist. She has indeed no rule of conduct; and she can afford no ground of conjecture how she will act in any given instance, except that which sometimes escapes and discovers what she would willingly conceal—*her own supposed interest,* which, more or less, resolves itself into *the acquisition of wealth.* Wealth, more truly than knowledge, is power. It represents,

it commands, every thing. With her, therefore, the monotonous, never ceasing note, is—"Money, money, still." This is the sure, the only sure measure of all her transactions; it is eminently her *ruling passion:* find this, and the mystery so far throws aside its veil.

Search then the ruling passion: there alone
The wild are constant, and the cunning known;
The fool consistent, and the false sincere;
[Popes, Papists, Jesuits,] no dissemblers here.
This clue once found, unravels all the rest,
The prospect clears, and [Rome's church] stands confest.

My object in the present work has limited me to the *venal circumstance* in the spiritual transactions of the Roman church. In fact there are none of her transactions which are not venal. Neither poetry nor prose has wronged her. Mantuanus is as little chargeable with calumny as Eneas Sylvius. If I had not been under this restraint I should have borrowed largely from the demonstration and eloquence of the Reverend Robert M'Ghee, in his late irresistible and appalling volume, "The Nullity of the Government of Queen Victoria in Ireland; or the Pope, the virtual Ruler of the land," &c., in that part particularly towards the close, pp. 155—178, and 227 to the

end, where he exposes the atrocious impiety of the *Dispensations* of the apostate church, which, notwithstanding their contrary pretensions, invade the prerogative of the Most High, almost in express terms, and with absolute effect. The Bull of Benedict XIV., *Pastor Bonus*, of the year 1744, which finally settles the powers of the office of the Penitentiary, and of the Major Pœnitentiarius, ratifies the barbarism of the dark ages in modern times; and the adoption of the same bull, as authority, in Ireland in the year 1832, not only gives it force at the present time in that member of the empire, but prepares the way for imposing it upon the entire papal body in Great Britain. In fact the machinery is complete; there wants but power to bring the whole into operation.* The work

* I quote only a short paragraph in the last page but one—"It would be a difficult task for any man to tie a knot upon the conscience of a sinner which this Major Pœnitentiarius cannot unbind at his pleasure. There certainly is no restriction that can be imposed on the conscience by the law of God, that the '*man of sin who opposeth, and exalteth himself above all that called God or that is worshipped*,' cannot at his pleasure supersede." At page 160, Mr. M'Ghee mentions a large volume on the office of the Major Pœnitentiarius by Marcus Paulus Leo. It appears in Southwell's Bibl. Scrip. Soc. Jesu under the title *Praxis ad Litteras Majoris Pœnitentiarii*, Romæ 1644, 4to. There is a short account of this official cardinal and his [illegible] in the *Relazione della Corte di Roma* del Cav. Girol. [illegible]doro 1728, pp. 25—27. The name of the author is erro-

just mentioned is full of terrific disclosures: it ought to fly through the whole area of the united empire, and rouse the torpid zeal of those who call themselves Christians and Protestants, and are not. It should shake them out of their indolence and disaffection, and

neously printed Limadoro in the last volume of Labat's *Voyages en Espagne*, &c. where the traveller professes to translate him. Aymon, in his *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, following the same guide, has a little enlarged, 2de ed. 1726, pp. 169—173. I have a beautifully written Italian MS. formerly in possession of the Earl of Guilford, containing six separate tracts on the Office of the Penitentiary. The first is Praxis S. Pœnitentiariæ, Authore Patre Thesauro. This is the same person as is found in the Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu under the name Carolus Ant. Thesaurus: but this work is not mentioned. The next tract is on the Faculties of Minor Penitentiaries; the next is a compendium of those of the Major. Then follows *Instructio pro supplicantibus in Officio S. Pœn.* Authore Valentino Mangiono, whose name stands in the fore-mentioned Bibliotheca: and one extract out of many others of the same description will give an insight into its character, and the character of the church to which it belongs—

Supplicat absolvi extra Sacramentum.

Si est Meretrix additur; et quia hæc Mulier est Meretrix, cui non potest ministrari Sacramentum Pœnitentiæ, ideo

Supplicat absolvi extra Sacramentum.

It is to be observed, that the Penitentiary Major is the pope's deputy, to dispense and absolve in *part* of the cases reserved to himself. In consequence of the press of business this officer is empowered to appoint deputies to himself. In ordinary cases the simple priest, who is a confessor, is sufficient, and, in episcopal reserved cases, the bishop. Those cases, which, after all, continue reserved to the pontiff, are not, as might be supposed, the most atrocious cases of guilt, but such as may be called *matters of state.*

make them unitedly put on their armour, prepare their arms, and come out to the battle. Let them not fear the charge of ultraism by entire or semi-traitors; but, seeing the danger and their duty, let them put forth their best exertions, and leave it to the God of spiritual battles to prosper them as he sees fit; in some way he assuredly will.

It may not be unacceptable to some readers to subjoin a brief account of such *Personal Indulgences* as have come to my knowledge. And I propose to present them in chronological order.

At a protestant meeting in Liverpool, October 29, 1835, at which William Hulton, Esq. of Hulton Park, near Manchester, was president, that gentleman in his opening address stated, "I happen to hold in my hands two Indulgences of two popes, authentic documents delivered to one of my ancestors, for the salvation of his soul and mine, if I should not become a heretic. One was given by pope Eugenius IV., and the other by pope Boniface IX., granting an indulgence to my ancestors, and extending it to me and my successors, if they remained catholics." Eugenius reigned from 1431 to 1447, Boniface from 1389 to 1404. I *observe* the order in the speech.

The next belongs to the precise year 1390, and would have preceded one of the former, if the two had not been united in one reference. It is an Indulgence of Boniface IX., granted to Sir Gerard Braybroke and his wife Elizabeth, as reported by Sir William Dugdale, in his *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, allowing *them* to chuse a confessor with power to confer upon them, being contrite and confessed, once only in the article of death, the full remission of all their sins. But if this grace should make them *procliviores ad illicita in posterum committenda*, in such case it should be null. *Nulli igitur*, &c. Nonas Julii, 1390. This Indulgence, (I suppose inscribed on a brass plate,) was found on removing the foundations of St. Paul's cathedral in 1608, together with the bones of Sir Gerard Braybroke and others at the East end of the South aisle.* Robert Braybroke, who was bishop of London, and son of Sir Gerard, was buried in the same cathedral.†

* Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's Cathedral*, 2d ed., p. 48, Ellis's, p. 32. It may likewise be seen in the *Hist. of Popery*, I., 182.

† See Godwin *de Presulibus*, &c. In Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, first edition, pp. 381 and following, is found an account of a chantry with an altar, contiguous to the bishop's

There was likewise, as we learn from the same author, and in the same work, interred in St. Paul's, Lawrence Allerthorpe, canon of that cathedral, and treasurer of England, who died in 1406,* to whom Boniface IX., the same pontiff as was the benefactor in the previous instance, granted an Indulgence, the purport of which was, the election of a confessor to grant, to the contrite and confessed, a full remission of all sins, *totiens quotiens tibi placuerit, et fuerit opportunum*, his heirs and executors, persisting in obedience to the Roman See, with the proviso, (as in the preceding instance) lest *procliviores*, &c. *Nulli ergo*, &c. Data Romæ duodecimo [scil. pontificatus nostri, therefore 1401.]

palace near St. Paul's Cathedral, founded by Sir Gerard and others to pray for the souls of Robert and others, the deed of which in the custody of Sir Simon D'Ewes is copied. The date is 1404. A Chantry was not necessarily a *building* for the purpose of chanting mass for particular souls, but was the appointment of a priest or priests with a certain endowment, to perform the office in any sacred building, which admitted of many such conveniences, as St. Paul's Cathedral, and other cathedrals and large churches. See particularly Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, pp. 26—44, where a large number of those contrivances of a wretched superstition are enumerated—all for the imaginary good of souls, living, departed, and to depart. *Cantaria, Cantuaria*, is defined by Du Cange and Adelung *Beneficium ecclesiasticum, missis decantandis addictum, et cui deserviunt, qui alias Capellani dicuntur.*

* Second edition 85, Ellis's 57.

There is a very remarkable monument of this description in the parochial chapel of St. Michael in Macclesfield, of which a minute account was given by the present author in the "Protestant Guardian" for 1828, pp. 337, &c. It is, as the inscription purports, in favour of Roger Legh and of Elizabeth his wife, "the Pardon for saying of V pater nost and V aves and a cred is xxvi thousand yeres and xxvi dayes of pardon." I possess an impression on paper taken by rubbing lead on the surface. This was done between the years 1770 and 1780. It is therefore a perfect facsimile of the plate as it then existed.* The individuals died in 1489 and 1506. This Indulgence may be said to be *general;* but it is *appropriated* in the present instance.

In Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, two Indulgences of the dates of 1488 and 1489 are mentioned, and assigned to Facques the printer, but without any particulars.†

There are likewise two similar documents by the same printer, which appear to be general, that is, with blanks for the insertion of names,

* See likewise a full account of this monument in *A View of Popery from the Creed of Pius IV.* 1737, by Joseph Burroughs, pp. 149—159, second edition. There are engravings of the plate.

† *See p. 1529.*

but still deserving of notice. The first is a broadside of the date of 1508, and is a deed of admission of Richard Woolman into the gild of the church of St. Mary's of St. Botolph, in Boston, Lincolnshire, on vellum. It grants to the Alderman and Treasurers thereof all the Indulgences and Suffrages granted by Nicholas V. and other pontiffs down to Innocent VIII. Date Dec. 10, 1508. The next document is a deed and indulgence of the Prior and Convent of Kyrkeby, Lincolnshire, to William Husse and his wife, by Boniface IX. And to it is annexed an Absolution of some value. *Dominus Jhesu Christus te absolvat, et auctoritate Dei ..... ac virtute papalis indulgentiæ ego absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis tuis et penis purgatorii et quæ tibi in purgatorio debentur propter culpas et offensas quas contra Deum commisisti, et restituo te illi puritati et innocentiæ in quibus eras quando baptizatus eras. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti Amen.**

Strype, in his *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, relates, that in 1555 William Smythwick, Esq. of Bath, being at Rome, obtained an indul-

* See Gough, *Brit. Topog.* I. 527; Herbert, 309, 310; Dibdin, III. 10, 11. Herbert has "cross keys, printed seal. Penes R. Rawlinson."

gence for himself and five friends from excommunication, &c. &c. *et ab omnibus et singulis eorum peccatis, de quibus contriti fuerint et confessi, etiamsi essent talia propter quæ foret sedes Apostolica consulenda,* &c. Smythwick chose Sir Thomas Smith for one of his friends; and it is so expressed in an attested instrument still in possession of Sir Edward Smith, Bart. of Hill Hall, Essex—so Strype expresses himself, speaking of the time when he wrote—*pro primis personis de quinque personis, ut præfertur in ipsis literis, sive brevi Apostolico concess. indult.* &c. "This, no question," proceeds the biographer, "was a good screen for Sir Thomas in these evil days.*

John Gee, M.A. of Exeter College, Oxford, who had been seduced to popery but was recovered, a rather eccentric, but apparently sincere and certainly able man, amongst other works, of not greater rarity than curiosity and merit, published "New Shreds of the Old Snare," with reference to his "Foot out of the Snare." He has a great deal about the Romish Indulgences, from page 63 to 112; and therein several Personal indulgences to individuals named, or designated,—as, 1607, to a Countess at the

* Pp. 47, 8, Oxford edition.

intercession of her son, giving her power to free a soul on a particular day out of Purgatory, and by virtue of masses obtain for her children and kindred the remission of the third part of their sins, and, if confessed and communicate, the same day, a plenary indulgence—to Sir John Markam, 1608—to Master Rawson, 1608—to the family of the Manfields, 1608—to the families of three noblemen, to the first, Lord M., at the intercession of Tob. Mathew, a plenary remission of all sins, *a pœna et a culpa*, for a thousand lents and 65 years, and power to free one of his friends out of purgatory: to the two others the indulgence is general, 1605—to Tho. Ger. and his lady by Paul V., granting them remission of all their sins and freedom from purgatory. First year of our papacy [1605.]—Then follow General Pardons in all forms, *a pœna et culpa* to the end, by Innocent VIII. and Clement VII., on various conditions.

In the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, is an Indulgence granted by Clement XII. to Nathan Hickman in form of petition to the pope. SANCTISSIMO DNO NRO PAPÆ CLEMENTI XII. BEATISSIME PATER. *Nathan Hickman Anglus Romæ præsens humillime supplicat sanctitati vestræ ut benignè* concedere dignetur

indulgentiam plenariam in articulo mortis sibi suisque consanguineis et affinibus usque ad gradum 2dum inclusivè, necnon viginti quinque aliis personis arbitrio dispensandis; dummodo tunc verè pœnitentes et confessi, ac sacrâ communione refecti fuerint, vel quatenus id facere nequiverint saltem contriti nomen Jesu ore, sin minus corde, devotè invocaverint. Quam Gratiam Deus, &c.

Indulgentiæ
P. M̃us annuit ut petitur, in
forma consueta
D̃mo. Ẽmo. et R̃mo. B̃no. Card^li Corsino,
A. Fresobaldy Aud^r.

[*Seal.*]

I am indebted for this document to an ably written pamphlet, "A brief Reference to the Three Capital Offences of the Church of Rome," &c. By Rusticus. Liverpool, 1824.*

Chais, in his *Lettres sur les Jubiles*, &c.† gives an account of an English Protestant Gentleman, who wished to purchase an Indulgence for himself and family. His desire was grati-

* Pp. 27, 28. I am only answerable for correct transcription. A facsimile of this Indulgence, reduced one fourth, was given in *Lambeth and the Vatican*, 1825. There is some little variation.

† Pp. 804–9.

fied. At the head of the document, which was a large sheet of parchment, were the papal arms, those of Benedict XIV.—below, Thomas D.. being at Rome, wishes a plenary Indulgence in the article of death for himself and his family to the third degree, if contrite, confessed and having communicated, or, in case of inability, having with the heart invoked the name of Jesus, &c. On the left margin are the words, Pro Thoma D.. Anglo ex L... Under the word Indulgence is written, *Sanctissimus annuit pro Indulgentia plenaria in articulo mortis ut petitur in forma consueta, Joseph Levizzani Secretarius.* Lower down on the same margin is the place of the *seal,* and on the right margin the numbers 1, 2, 3, perpendicularly, for so many names at the pleasure of the applicant. The whole original in latin is given in a note.

Rusticus, in the work and place already referred to, has directed me to another specimen, in the works of Voltaire. The passage is in the XVIIIth volume of the [Kehl] edition of 1784 in *Essai sur les Mocurs,* Ch. 127, *de Leon X., et de l'Eglise,* p. 153. Having instanced some prices for pardons and dispensations *prospectively,* the writer adds, On a retrouvé dans les archives de *Joinville* une indulgence en expec-

tative pour le cardinal de Lorraine, et douze personnes de sa suite, laquelle remettoit a chacun d'eux par avance trois péchés à leur choix. *Le Laboureur,* écrivain exact, rapporte que la duchesse de *Bourbon* et d'*Auvergne,* soeur de *Charles* VIII., eut le droit de se faire absoudre toute sa vie de tout péché, elle et dix personnes de sa suite, à quarante-sept fêtes de l'année sans compter les dimanches. This not unexceptionable writer, who was never so attentive to references as he should be, might have pointed out the particular work of Le Laboureur in which his fact is to be found. It does not appear to have its place in his elaborate *Additions* to the *Memoires de Castelnau.* The philosopher was not perhaps grave when he wrote, that " no council has placed the tax for sins among articles of faith," although we do not unfrequently meet with solemn defenders of Romanism, who use similar language.

The reader may see a very curious Pardon, or collection of pardons, " grauntyd to the fraternyte of seynt Cornelys at Westmynster," ending, " The sũme of this indulgence cometh in the yere to MMD. vii. C. and XL. dayes for ever to endure," in Gough's *British Topography,* I., 772, 3.

But he will derive more valuable information from three testimonies on this humiliating subject, particularly the first, collected by Mr. J. M. Cramp, in his *Text Book of Popery.*"* "Speaking of the notoriously depraved state of morals in Italy, Mr. Eustace asks—'May it not be ascribed to the corruptions of the national religion, to the facility of absolution, and to the easy purchase of indulgences?'—Classical Tour, iii. p. 131. Facts furnish the best answer to this question. 'At Tivoli,' says a modern traveller, 'a man was pointed out to us who had stabbed his brother, who died in agonies within an hour. The murderer went to Rome, purchased his pardon from the church, and received a written protection from a cardinal, in consequence of which he was walking about unconcernedly, a second Cain, whose life was sacred.'—Graham's Three Months' Residence in the Mountains East of Rome, p. 34. Again: 'Those that have interest with the

* See second edition, p. 342, Note. Mr. Cramp need be little annoyed by the natural antipathy of virtual papists. His character would be doubtful, if he pleased them. Eustace endeavours to nullify his important admission by the usual subterfuge of *canonical remission*: but with what consistency? for how is crime encouraged by indulgences having no connexion with crime?

Pope may obtain an absolution in full from his holiness for all the sins they ever have committed, or may chuse to commit.' 'I have seen one of these edifying documents, issued by the present Pope to a friend of mine. It was most unequivocally worded.'—Rome in the Nineteenth Century, ii., p. 271."

I have now done; and will only ask, whether in the whole course of human history from its earliest period, and with a particular view to religious institutions, heathen and idolatrous, as well as Judaic and Christian, any one can be pointed out, which has laid such a claim to universal sovereignty, or has made such a trading and lucrative concern of the crimes and pardons of mankind as the Church of Rome has done?

POSTSCRIPT.

IN order to have a correct notion of the connexion of *pecuniary satisfaction* with the absolution of human crime in the modern Church of Rome, it is almost necessary that the reader should be acquainted with the able, and generally disinterested work of the very learned Morinus, Priest of the Oratory, *de Pœnitentia*, Bruxellis, 1685, particularly capp. xvi.—xviii., of the Tenth or last Book. He will there learn that actual penance ceased in the eleventh century; and that the first occasion was, the *redemption of canonical penance by a certain payment of money*. The fact is attested by several unexceptionable witnesses, at the head of which stands Burchard, Bishop of Worms, who wrote at the end of the tenth century; and he is followed, and represented, with important advantage, about a century later, by Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, to the notice of whom I shall return. Morinus recites from the Abbat Regino in MS. a long passage, particularizing pretty minutely the *solidi* and *denarii* to be paid for release from penance, or as a substitute for it. I need not repeat his other testimonies from the different *Penitentials* and the first *Council of Tribur*. But it is important to observe from the acknowledgments of this honest author, what scandals these redemptions occasioned; to what an excess they proceeded; and how kings and prelates conspired in sanctioning the immoral and anti-religious practice, particularly in England. This commutation, in which the rich had a manifest, acknowledged, and most scandalous advantage above the poor, (as the reader will have seen in the foregoing pages,) naturally led the way to the *computation of crime and its absolution by hundreds and thousands of years*, and confirm the fact, if confirmation were needed, by accounting for it. The next inroad upon literal penance was *the expedition to the Holy Land*. But that need not be pursued.

I have not access to Burchard's *Volumen Decretorum*.* But Ivo's *Decretum*, Lovanii 1561, is before me. From the Preface of John du Moulin it appears, that the first who reduced the scattered canons of the church into a compact and systematic form was the German Prelate just named; and that the Frenchman, induced by the rise and suppression of the Berengarian opinion, called a heresy then, thought fit to give, as it might be considered, a new edition of the canonical code, with the interesting addition of the new matter which the aforesaid heresy supplied. This work so far came to be superseded by abridgments, that it was mistaken for another similar work of the author's, the *Panormia*.† The plan and object of his successor, Gratian, who reduced the Canon Law to the form which it now bears in his portion of the *Corpus*, was very distinct and different—that of reconciling apparent discordances.

But my object in selecting Ivo for particular notice is, to give his report of *the state of redemption*, or commutations of penance for money *in his time*. The subject occurs in the xvth Part of the *Decretum, de Pœnitentia*, and occupies from cap. 191 to the end. The man who *cannot fast*, is guarded against despair by the concession, that he may do as he likes, *if he feed a poor man*. Fasting may be redeemed by giving, if rich, *three denarii*, if poor, *one*. Quidam dicunt xx. palmatas valere pro uno die.‡ The 202d and 203d

* What these palmatæ were, Baronius himself does not appear to know. See Adelung. They seem, however, to have a portion of actual penance.

† For a full account of him see Oudin *de Script. Eccles.* ii., 525 et seqq. His work consisted of Twenty books, the contents of which are given.

‡ Oudin may likewise, and in the same work, ii., 871 et seqq., be consulted for a copious account of Ivo, and his works. His *Panormia*, which I have in an edition printed at Basil in 1499, in 4to. is thus entitled, *Liber Decretorum sive Panormia Ivonis accurato labore summoq; studio in unum redacta continens. Urbani*

chapters have something more precise. The rich man redeems seven weeks with 20 *solidi*, the poorer, with *half the sum*: but if very poor, he is let off for 3 *solidi*. The author deprecates blame for the higher charge, since, he adds, it is easier for a rich man to give 20 solidi, than for a poor man to give three. Again, if the penitent is bound to three years' fasting, and is unequal to that penance, he may expend *in alms 26 solidi* for the first year, for the second 20, for the third 18, *hoc sunt solidi* lxiiii. And this is followed by good and conciliatory advice. In the case of those who have no means, the poor *body* must pay—[in corpore si non in crumena]. In the last chapter, which is entitled, *of the redemption of vii years*, twenty special masses, with iii psalters, and with three hundred palmatæ, excuse a year. The next and last clause is—*Centum solidi dati in eleemosynam annum excusant.* The reader hardly need be told, that the meaning, or rather application of *alms* is, in the *stylus Romanæ curiæ et ecclesiæ*, very ambiguous, or technical.

Whether such statements as these, or the statements of pontifical priests, who have so much temptation to misrepresent and falsify on this subject, particularly in England, are to be preferred, let the individual who possesses any competency in such matters, and has his eyes open, judge.

Preface by the editor, Sebastian Brant, who says that it was abridged; but probably confounds it with the *Decretum*, as he expresses himself with hesitation. It consists of Eight books; and, although coincident in matter with the larger work, appears to be quite independent, whether written before or after.

THE END.

THOMAS KNOTT, PRINTER, BIRMINGHAM.

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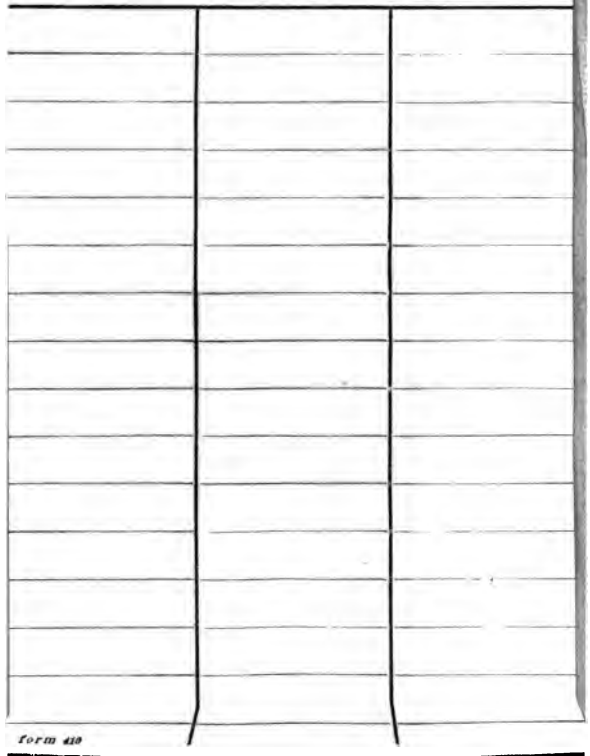

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